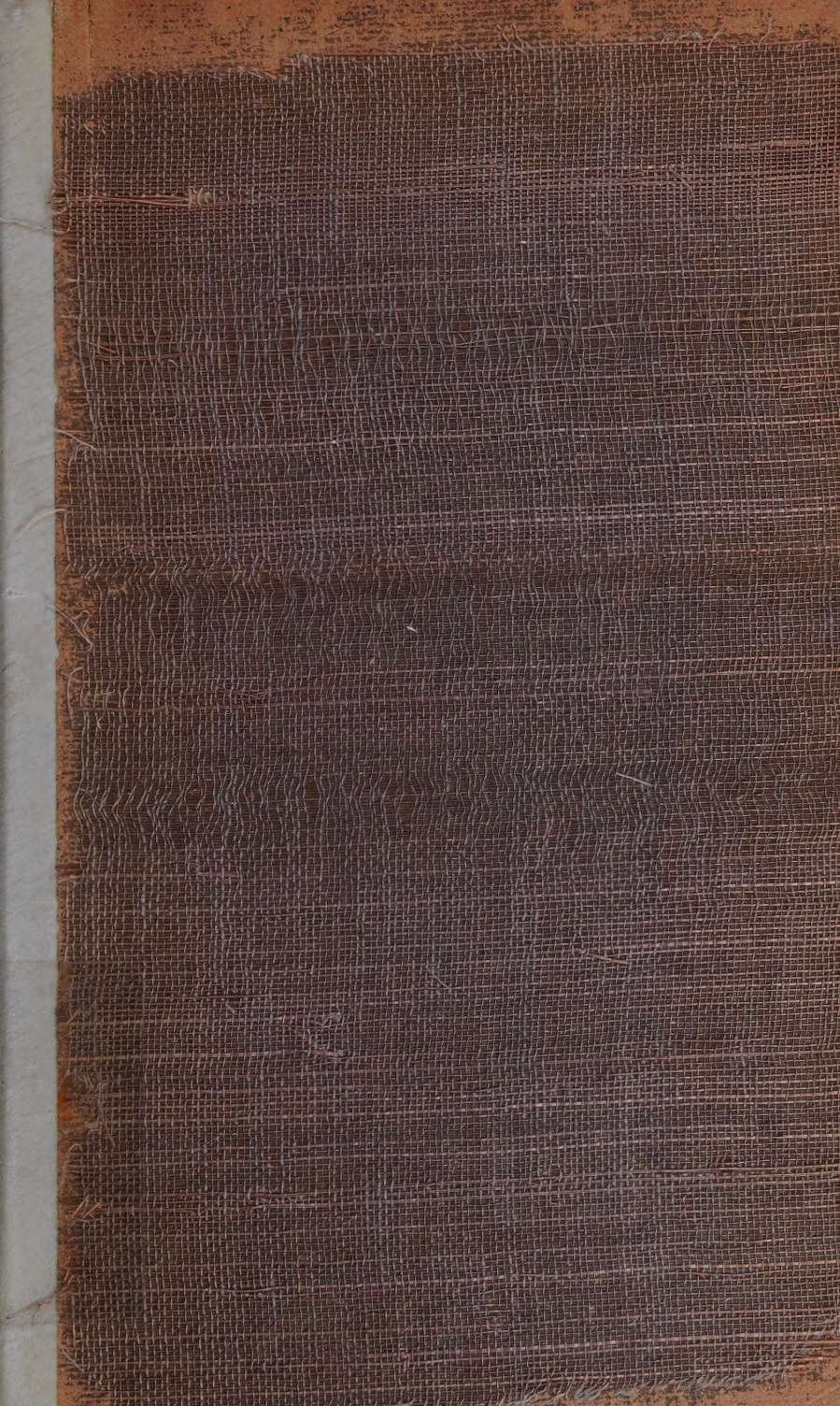


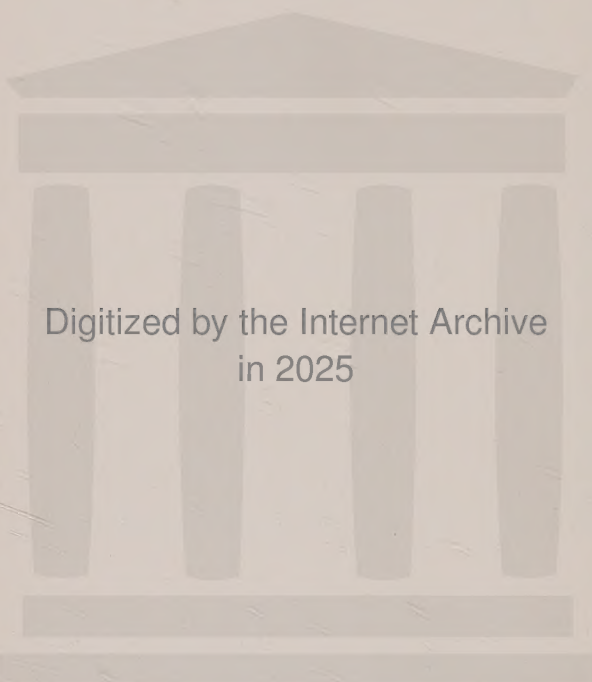


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Mather, Cotton, 1663-1728.

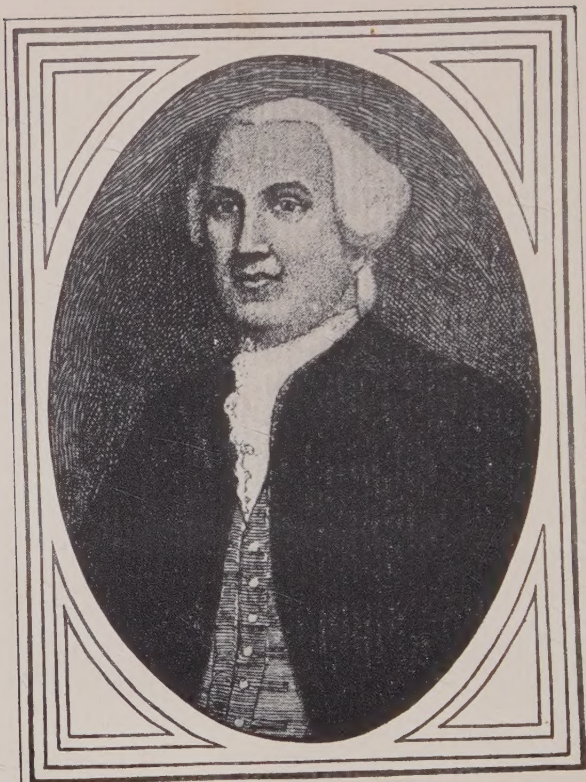
The life of Sir William Phips



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The Life of
Sir William Phips

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William Phips

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

THE LIFE
of
SIR WILLIAM PHIPS
BY COTTON MATHER

EDITED with a Preface by
MARK VAN DOREN



NEW YORK

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Preface

PREFACE

COTTON MATHER'S "Life of Sir William Phips, Knt." was first published in 1697, two years after the death of its doughty subject. Five years later it was included, along with many other writings by Mather, in his elephantine miscellany "Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England"; and there it has always had an honorable place as one of the best narratives, biographical or otherwise, produced in the American colonies in the seventeenth century. The "Magnalia" was more than an ecclesiastical history, at least as we should interpret the term; for it contained the biographies of many worthies who held no office in the church, and took account of such things as crime even at the same moment that it set down the history of the Massachusetts settlement, the Congregation-

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al Church, and Harvard College. Among the lives of governors and magistrates which make up the second book of the "Magnalia" none is more interesting than that of Phips, though William Bradford and John Winthrop are included, naturally, in the list.

Phips was a self-made man of seventeenth-century Maine, having been born near the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1651. Mather pays much attention to the fact that his hero had risen to fame out of perfect obscurity and without the help of education (he did not learn to read and write until after he was twenty). Such a circumstance furnished the opportunity to point a moral, and Cotton Mather, it must be remembered, wrote always with moral intention. Indefatigable and bookish divine that he was, he used his pen to instruct; he stored his brain with examples of virtue all the way down from the Greeks, Persians, and Egyptians; he waged incessant war against the powers of lassitude and evil. So in the case of Phips,

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although he had for subject an impetuous, rough-hewn seventeenth-century sea-dog, a tall, thick, strong man who in his forty-four years of life had hunted and found 300,000 pounds of sunken Spanish treasure, had commanded two expeditions against the French in Canada, had served a stormy period as royal governor, and had harried the Indians—although he had this kind of man before him, Mather did his best to make him a saint as well as a worthy, sinning in the manner of most seventeenth-century biographers by spouting eulogy. Phips, to be sure, attended at his church; but it is to be doubted that he was quite the wholly forgiving Christian whom Mather paints.

Fortunately, as a matter of fact, Mather was too good a writer to succeed altogether in covering up the vital, earthy aspects of his hero. The great adventurer, half crusader and half clown, shows through and takes effect upon us as naturally as if his biographer were not sweating in the heavy harness of

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pedantry. Cotton Mather was a writer of excellent quality; he could tell a story vastly better than most men can, and he was not above writing in the vernacular when inspired by the spectacle of action. He is usually thought of as a man of the study, the author of a long list of formidable books and the possessor of New England's greatest library. But it is in the real world that the life of Phips takes place. The story of the treasure hunt, good of course in itself, becomes better by this handling; and so do the stories of the wars and of the mutiny which the Knight of Maine put down. Everywhere in the writing there is vigor—the rich, allusive vigor of seventeenth-century prose.

Phips as governor figured in the famous witchcraft episode, an episode which intensely interested Mather himself and which he therefore treats at some length. So in other respects the "Life" is a mirror of the thoughts and deeds which distinguished—and disfigured—its time. It is a full book with an old

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flavor, floundering through antiquated prose towards a very worthy goal. It is for its story, however, and for its convincing portrait of a picturesque man that it deserves the notice of laymen in a later world.

MARK VAN DOREN.

New York 1929

Pietas in Patriam:

THE
LIFE
OF HIS
EXCELLENCY

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, Knt.

Late Captain General, and Governour in
Chief of the Province of the *Massachuset-Bay*,
NEW-ENGLAND.

Containing the Memorable *Changes* Under-
gone, and *Actions* Performed by Him.

Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.

Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.

ENDORSEMENT

THE Author of the following Narrative is a Person of such well known Integrity, Prudence and Veracity, that there is not any cause to Question the Truth of what he here Relates. And moreover, this Writing of his is adorned with a very grateful Variety of Learning, and doth contain such surprizing workings of Providence, as do well deserve due Notice and Observation. On all which accounts, it is with just Confidence recommended to the Publick by

April 27.
1697.

Nath. Mather,
John Howe,
Matth. Mead.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

*To his Excellency the Earl of Bellomont,
Baron of Coloony in Ireland, General Governour
of the Province of Massachusetts in
New-England, and the Provinces annexed.*

May it please your Excellency,

THE Station in which the Hand of the God of Heaven hath disposed His Majesties Heart to place your Honour, doth so manifestly entitle your Lordship to this ensuing Narrative, that its being thus Presented to your Excellencies Hand, is thereby both Apologized for and Justified. I believe, had the Writer of it, when he Penned it, had any Knowledge of your Excellency, he would himself have done it, and withal, would have amply and publickly Congratulated the People of *New-England*, on account of their having such a Governour, and your Excellency, on account of your being made Governour over them. For though as to some other things it may possibly be a place to some Persons not

Epistle Dedicatory

so desirable; yet I believe this Character may be justly given of them, that they are the best People under Heaven; there being among them, not only less of open Profaneness, and less of Lewdness, but also more of the serious Profession, Practice, and Power of Christianity, in proportion to their number, than is among any other People upon the Face of the whole Earth. Not but I doubt, there are many bad Persons among them, and too many distemper'd Humours, perhaps even among those who are truly good. It would be a wonder if it should be otherwise; for it hath of late Years, on various accounts, and some very singular and unusual ones, been a Day of sore Temptation with that whole People. Nevertheless, as I look upon it as a Favour from God to those Plantations, that he hath set your Excellency over them, so I do account it a Favour from God to your Excellency, that he hath committed and trusted in your Hand so great a part of his peculiar Treasure and precious Jewels, as are among that People. Besides, that on other accounts the Lord Jesus hath more of a visible Interest in *New-England*, than in any of the

Epistle Dedicatory

Outgoings of the *English* Nation in *America*. They have at their own Charge not only set up Schools of lower Learning up and down the Country; but have also erected an University, which hath been the happy Nursery of many Useful, Learned, and excellently Accomplished Persons. And moreover, from them hath the blessed Gospel been Preached to the Poor, Barbarous, Savage *Heathen* there; and it hath taken such Root among them, that there were lately four and twenty Assemblies in which the Name of the Lord Jesus was constantly called on, and celebrated in their own Language. In these things *New-England* out-shineth all the Colonies of the *English* in those goings down of the Sun. I know your Excellency will Favour and Countenance their University, and also the Propagating of the Gospel among the Natives; for the Interest of Christ in that Part of the Earth is much concerned in them. That the God of the Spirits of all Flesh would abundantly replenish your Excellency with a suitable Spirit for the Service to which he hath called your Lordship, that he would give your Honour a prosperous Voyage thither, and

Epistle Dedicatory

when there, make your Excellency a rich
Blessing to that People, and them a rejoicing
to your Excellency, is the Prayer of,

April 27.
1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

Humble Servant,

Nath. Mather.

THE
LIFE
Of His EXCELLENCY
Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, Knt.
LATE
GOVERNOR
OF
NEW-ENGLAND.

§ 1. **I**F such a Renowned Chymist, as *Quercetanus*, with a whole Tribe of *Labourers in the Fire*, since that Learned Man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of Mankind believe, That they can take a *Plant* in its more vigorous Consistence, and after a due *Maceration*, *Fermentation* and *Separation*, extract the *Salt* of that *Plant*, which, as it were, in a *chaos*, invisibly reserves the *Form* of the whole, with its vital Principle; and, that keeping the *Salt* in a *Glass* Hermetically sealed, they can, by applying a *Soft Fire* to the *Glass*, make the

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Vegetable rise by little and little out of its *Ashes*, to surprize the Spectators with a notable Illustration of that *Resurrection*, in the Faith whereof the *Jews* returning from the Graves of their Friends, pluck up the *Grass* from the Earth, using those Words of the Scripture thereupon, *Your Bones shall flourish like an Herb*: 'Tis likely, that all the Observations of such Writers, as the Incomparable *Borellus*, will find it hard enough to produce our Belief, that the *Essential Salts* of *Animals* may be so Prepared and Preserved, that an Ingenious Man may have the whole *Ark* of *Noah* in his own Study, and raise the fine *Shape* of an *Animal* out of its *Ashes* at his Pleasure: And, that by the like Method from the *Essential Salts* of *Humane Dust*, a Philosopher may, without any Criminal *Necromancy*, call up the *Shape* of any *Dead Ancestor* from the *Dust* whereinto his Body has been Incinerated. The *Resurrection of the Dead*, will be as Just, as Great an Article of our *Creed*, although the *Relations* of these Learned Men should pass for *Incredible Romances*: But yet there is an *Anticipation* of that Blessed *Resurrection*, carrying in it

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some Resemblance of these *Curiosities*, which is performed, when we do in a *Book*, as in a *Glass*, reserve the History of our Departed *Friends*; and by bringing our *Warm Affections* unto such an History, we revive, as it were, out of their *Ashes*, the true *Shape* of those *Friends*, and bring to a fresh View, what was *Memorable* and *Imitable* in them. Now, in as much as *Mortality* has done its part upon a Considerable Person, with whom I had the Honour to be well acquainted, and a Person as *Memorable* for the Wonderful *Changes* which befel him, as *Imitable* for his *Virtues* and *Actions* under those *Changes*; I shall endeavour, with the *Chymistry* of an Impartial *Historian*, to raise my Friend so far out of his *Ashes*, as to shew him again unto the World; and if the Character of *Heroick Virtue* be for a Man to *deserve well of Mankind*, and be great in the Purpose and Success of *Essays to do so*, I may venture to promise my Reader such Example of *Heroick Virtue*, in the Story whereto I Invite him, that he shall say, it would have been little short of a *Vice* in me, to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *Partiality* for the Memory of my

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Deceased Friend, or any other Sinister Design whatsoever, that has Invited me to this Undertaking; but I have undertaken this Matter from a sincere Desire, that the Ever-Glorious Lord *JESUS CHRIST* may have the Glory of his *Power* and *Goodness*, and of his *Providence*, in what he did for such a Person, and in what he disposed and assisted that Person to do for him. Now, *May he assist my Writing, even he that prepared the Subject, whereof I am to Write!*

§ 2. So *obscure* was the *Original* of that Memorable Person, whose *Actions* I am going to relate, that I must, in a way of Writing, like that of *Plutarch*, prepare my Reader for the intended Relation, by first searching the *Archives* of Antiquity for a *Parallel*. Now, because we will not *Parallel* him with *Eumenes*, who, though he were the Son of a Poor Carrier, became a Governour of Mighty Provinces; nor with *Marius*, whose mean Parentage did not hinder his becoming a Glorious Defender of his Country, and Seven times the Chief Magistrate of the Chiefest City in the Universe: Nor with *Iphricates*,

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who became a Successful and Renowned General of a Great People, though his Father were a *Cobler*: Nor with *Dioclesian*, the Son of a poor *Scrivener*: Nor with *Bonosus*, the Son of a poor *School-Master*, who yet came to sway the Scepter of the *Roman Empire*: Nor, lastly, will I compare him to the more late Example of the Celebrated *Mazarini*, who though no Gentleman by his Extraction, and one so sorrily Educated, that he might have wrote *Man*, before he could write at all; yet ascended unto that Grandeur, in the Memory of many yet living, as to Umpire the most Important Affairs of *Christendom*: We will decline looking any further in that *Hemisphere* of the World, and make the *Hue and Cry* throughout the Regions of *America*, the *New World*, which *He*, that is becoming the Subject of our History, by his *Nativity*, belong'd unto. And in *America*, the first that meets me, is *Francisco Pizarro*, who, though a *Spurious Offspring*, exposed when a *Babe* in a Church-Porch, at a sorry Village of *Navarre*, and afterwards employ'd while he was a *Boy*, in keeping of Cattel, yet, at length, stealing into *America*, he so thrived upon his Adven-

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tures there, that upon some Discoveries, which with an handful of Men he had in a desperate Expedition made of *Peru*, he obtain'd the King of *Spain's* Commission for the Conquest of it, and at last so incredibly enrich'd himself by the Conquest, that he was made the first Vice-Roy of *Peru*, and created Marquess of *Anatilla*.

To the Latter and Highest Part of that Story, if any thing hindred His Excellency Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, from affording of a *Parallel*, it was not the want either of *Design*, or of *Courage*, or of *Conduct* in himself, but it was the Fate of a *Premature Mortality*. For my Reader now being satisfied, that a Person's being *Obscure* in his *Original*, is not always a Just Prejudice to an Expectation of *Considerable Matters* from him; I shall now inform him, that this our *PHIPS* was Born *Feb. 2. A. Dom. 1650.* at a despicable Plantation on the River of *Kennebeck*, and almost the furthest Village of the Eastern Settlement of *New-England*. And as the *Father* of that Man, which was as great a Blessing as *England* had in the Age of that Man, was a *Smith*, so a *Gun-Smith*, namely, *James Phips*, once of

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Bristol, had the Honour of being the *Father* to him, whom we shall presently see, made by the God of Heaven as great a Blessing to *New-England*, as that Country could have had, if they themselves had pleased. His fruitful *Mother*, yet living, had no less than *Twenty-Six* Children, whereof *Twenty-One* were Sons; but Equivalent to them all was *WILLIAM*, one of the youngest, whom his *Father* dying, left young with his *Mother*, and with her he lived, *keeping of Sheep in the Wilderness*, until he was Eighteen Years Old; at which time he began to feel some further Dispositions of Mind from that *Providence* of God which *took him from the Sheepfolds, from following the Ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his People*. Reader, enquire no further who was his *Father*? Thou shalt anon see, that he was, as the *Italians* express it, *A Son to his own Labours*!

§ 3. His Friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a Plantation of the *East*; but he had an Unaccountable *Impulse* upon his Mind, perswading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, *That he*

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was Born to greater Matters. To come at those *greater Matters*, his first Contrivance was to bind himself an Apprentice unto a *Ship-Carpenter* for Four Years; in which time he became a Master of the *Trade*, that once in a Vessel of more than *Forty Thousand Tuns*, repaired the Ruins of the Earth; *Noah's*, I mean; he then betook himself an Hundred and Fifty Miles further a Field, even to *Boston*, the Chief Town of *New-England*; which being a Place of the most Business and Resort in those Parts of the World, he expected there more Commodiously to pursue the *Spes Majorum & Meliorum*, *Hopes* which had inspir'd him. At *Boston*, where it was that he now learn'd, first of all, to *Read* and *Write*, he followed his Trade for about a Year; and by a laudable Deportment, so recommended himself, that he Married a Young Gentlewoman of good Repute, who was the Widow of one Mr. *John Hull*, a well-bred Merchant, but the Daughter of one Captain *Roger Spencer*, a Person of good Fashion, who having suffer'd much damage in his Estate, by some unkind and unjust Actions, which he bore with such Patience, that for fear of thereby

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injuring the Publick, he would not seek Satisfaction, *Posterity* might afterward see the Reward of his *Patience*, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own *Posterity*. Within a little while after his Marriage, he indented with several Persons in *Boston*, to Build them a Ship at *Sheeps-coat* River, Two or Three Leagues Eastward of *Kennebeck*; where having Lunched the Ship, he also provided a *Lading* of Lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the Advantage of all Concern'd. But just as the Ship was hardly finished, the Barbarous *Indians* on that River, broke forth into an Open and Cruel War upon the *English*; and the miserable People, surprized by so sudden a storm of Blood, had no Refuge from the Infidels, but the *Ship* now finishing in the Harbour. Whereupon he left his intended *Lading* behind him, and instead thereof, carried with him his old Neighbours and their Families, free of all Charges, to *Boston*; so the *first Action* that he did, after he was his own Man, was to *save his Father's House*, with the rest of the Neighbourhood, from Ruin; but the Disappointment which befel him from the Loss of his other *Lading*,

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plunged his Affairs into greater Embarrassments with such as had employ'd him.

§ 4. But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make *Scaffolds* for further and higher *Actions*! He would frequently tell the Gentlewoman his Wife, That he should yet be *Captain of a King's Ship*; That he should come to have the *Command of better Men* than he was now accounted himself; and, That he should be Owner of a *Fair Brick-House* in the *Green-Lane* of *North-Boston*; and, That, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these Passages with a sufficient Incredulity; but he had so *serious* and *positive* an Expectation of them, that it is not easie to say, what was the *Original* thereof. He was of an Enterprizing *Genius*, and naturally disdained *Littleness*: But his Disposition for *Business* was of the *Dutch* Mould, where, with a little shew of *Wit*, there is as much *Wisdom* demonstrated, as can be shewn by any Nation. His Talent lay not in the *Airs* that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden Turns of *Conversation*; but he might say, as

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Themistocles, Though he could not play upon a Fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little City become a Great One. He would prudently contrive a weighty Undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the End. He was of an Inclination, cutting rather like a Hatchet, than like a Razor; he would propose very Considerable Matters to himself, and then so cut through them, that no Difficulties could put by the Edge of his Resolutions. Being thus of the True Temper, for doing of Great Things, he betakes himself to the Sea, the Right Scene for such Things; and upon Advice of a Spanish Wreck about the Bahama's, he took a Voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to furnish him for a Voyage to England; whither he went in a Vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their First Coin, with these Words about it, Incertum quo Fata ferant. Having first informed himself that there was another Spanish Wreck, wherein was lost a mighty Treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong Impression upon his Mind that He must be the Discoverer; and he made such Represen-

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tations of his Design at *White-Hall*, that by the Year 1683. he became the Captain of a *King's Ship*, and arrived at *New-England* Commander of the *Algier-Rose*, a Frigot of Eighteen Guns, and Ninety-Five Men.

§ 5. To Relate all the *Dangers* through which he passed, both by Sea and Land, and all the Tiresome Trials of his *Patience*, as well as of his *Courage*, while Year after Year the most vexing Accidents imaginable delay'd the Success of his Design, it would even Tire the patience of the Reader: For very great was the Experiment that Captain *Phips* made of the *Italian* Observation, *He that cann't suffer both Good and Evil, will never come to any great Preferment*. Wherefore I shall supersede all *Journal* of his Voyages to and fro, with reciting one Instance of his Conduct, that show'd him to be a Person of no contemptible Capacity. While he was Captain of the *Algier-Rose*, his Men growing weary of their unsuccessful Enterprize, made a Mutiny, wherein they approach'd him on the Quarter-Deck, with Drawn Swords in their Hands, and required him to join with them in

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Running away with the Ship, to drive a Trade of Piracy on the *South Seas*. Captain *Phips*, though he had not so much of a Weapon as an *Ox-Goad*, or a *Jaw-bone* in his Hands, yet like another *Shamgar* or *Samson*, with a most undaunted Fortitude, he rush'd in upon them, and with the Blows of his bare Hands, *Fell'd* many of them, and *Quell'd* all the Rest. But this is not the Instance which I intended: That which I intend is, That (as it has been related unto me) One Day while his Frigot lay *Carreening*, at a desolate *Spanish* Island, by the side of a Rock, from whence they had laid a Bridge to the Shoar, the Men, whereof he had about an *Hundred*, went all, but about Eight or Ten, to divert themselves, as they pretended, in the *Woods*: Where they all entred into an *Agreement*, which they Sign'd in a Ring, That about seven a Clock that Evening they would seize the Captain, and those Eight or Ten, which they knew to be True unto him, and leave them to perish on this Island, and so be gone away unto the *South Sea* to *seek their Fortune*. Will the Reader now imagine, that Captain *Phips* having Advice of this Plot but about an Hour and half before it was to

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be put in Execution, yet within *Two Hours* brought all these Rogues down upon their Knees to beg for their Lives? But so it was! For these Knaves considering that they should want a *Carpenter* with them in their *Villainous Expedition*, sent a Messenger to fetch unto them the *Carpenter*, who was then at Work upon the Vessel: and unto him they shew'd their *Articles*; telling him what he must look for if he did not *subscribe* among them. The *Carpenter* being an honest Fellow, did with much importunity prevail for one half hours Time to consider of the Matter; and returning to Work upon the Vessel, with a *Spy* by them set upon him, he feigned himself taken with a Fit of the *Cholick*, for the Relief whereof he suddenly run unto the Captain in the Great Cabbin for a *Dram*; where, when he came, his business was only in brief, to tell the Captain of the horrible Distress which he was fallen into; but the Captain bid him as briefly return to the Rogues in the *Woods*, and Sign their *Articles*, and leave *him* to provide for the Rest. The *Carpenter* was no sooner gone, but Captain *Phips* calling together the few Friends (it may be seven or

Sir William Phips

eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the Gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would stand by him in the Extremity, which he informed them was now come upon him; whereto they reply'd, *They would stand by him, if he could save them;* and he Answer'd, *By the help of God he did not fear it.* All their Provisions had been carried Ashoar to a Tent, made for that purpose there; about which they had placed several Great Guns to defend it, in case of any *Assault* from *Spaniards*, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain *Phips* immediately ordered those Guns to be silently Drawn'd and Turn'd; and so pulling up the Bridge, he charged his Great Guns aboard, and brought them to Bear on every side of the Tent. By this Time the *Army of Rebels* comes out of the Woods; but as they drew near to the Tent of Provisions, they saw such a change of Circumstances, that they cried out, *We are Betray'd!* And they were soon confirm'd in it, when they heard the Captain with a stern Fury call to them, *Stand off, ye Wretches, at your Peril!* He quickly saw them cast into a more than ordinary Confusion,

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when they saw *Him* ready to Fire his Great Guns upon them, if they offered one step further than he permitted them: And when he had signified unto them his *Resolve* to abandon them unto all the Desolation which they had purposed for *him*, he caused the *Bridge* to be again laid, and his Men begun to take the Provisions abroad. When the wretches beheld what was coming upon them, they fell to very humble Entreaties; and at last fell down upon their Knees, protesting, *That they never had any thing against him, except only his unwillingness to go away with the King's Ship upon the South-Sea Design: But upon all other Accounts, they would chuse rather to Live and Die with him, than with any Man in the World; however, since they saw how much he was dissatisfied at it, they would insist upon it no more, and humbly begg'd his Pardon.* And when he judg'd that he had kept them on their *Knees* long enough, he having first secur'd their *Arms*, received them aboard; but he immediately weighed Anchor, and arriving at *Jamaica*, he Turn'd them off. Now with a small Company of other Men he sailed from thence to *Hispaniola*, where by the

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Policy of his Address, he fished out of a very old *Spaniard*, (or *Portuguese*) a little Advice about the true Spot where lay the *Wreck* which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously, as the *Chymists* have their *Aurisick Stone*: That it was upon a *Reef of Shoals*, a few Leagues to the Northward of *Port de la Plata*, upon *Hispaniola*, a Port so call'd, it seems, from the Landing of some of the *Shipwreck'd Company*, with a Boat full of Plate, saved out of their Sinking Frigot: Nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the Spot, whereof the old *Spaniard* had advised him, he had not hitherto exactly hit upon it. Such *Thorns* did vex his Affairs while he was in the *Rose-Frigot*; but none of all these things could retund the Edge of his Expectations to find the *Wreck*; with such Expectations he return'd then into *England*, that he might there better furnish himself to Prosecute a *New Discovery*; for though he judged he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right *Spot*, yet he found his present Company too ill a Crew to be confided in.

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§ 6. So *proper* was his Behaviour, that the best Noble Men in the Kingdom now admitted him into their Conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful Enemies, that clogg'd his Affairs with such Demurrages, and such *Disappointments*, as would have wholly Discouraged his Designs, if his Patience had not been *Invincible*. *He who can wait, hath what he desireth*. This his Indefatigable *Patience*, with a proportionable *Diligence*, at length overcame the Difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of *Albemarle*, and some other Persons of Quality, to fit him out, he set Sail for the *Fishing-Ground*, which had been so well *baited* half an Hundred Years before: And as he had already discovered his *Capacity for Business* in many considerable Actions, he now added unto those Discoveries, by not only *providing* all, but also by *inventing* many of the Instruments necessary to the prosecution of his intended *Fishery*. Captain *Phips* arriving with a Ship and a *Tender* at *Port de la Plata*, made a stout *Canoo* of a stately *Cotton-Tree*, so large as to carry Eight or Ten Oars, for the making of which *Periaga* (as they call

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it) he did, with the same industry that he did every thing else, employ his own *Hand* and *Adse*, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the Woods many Nights together. This *Periaga*, with the *Tender*, being Anchored at a place Convenient, the *Periaga* kept Busking to and again, but could only discover a *Reef of Rising Shoals* thereabouts, called, *The Boilers*, which Rising to be within Two or Three Foot of the Surface of the Sea, were yet so steep, that a Ship striking on them, would immediately sink down, who could say, *how many Fathom* into the Ocean? Here they could get no other Pay for their long *peeping* among the *Boilers*, but only such as caused them to think upon returning to their Captain with the *bad News* of their total Disappointment. Nevertheless, as they were upon the Return, one of the Men looking over the side of the *Periaga*, into the calm Water, he spied a *Sea Feather*, growing, as he judged, out of a Rock; whereupon they had one of their *Indians* to Dive and fetch this *Feather*, that they might however carry home *something* with them, and make, at least, as fair a *Triumph* as *Caligula's*. The *Diver*

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bringing up the *Feather*, brought therewithal a surprizing Story, That he perceived a Number of *Great Guns* in the *Watry World* where he had found his *Feather*; the *Report* of which *Great Guns* exceedingly astonished the whole Company; and at once turned their *Despondencies* for their ill success into *Assurances*, that they had now lit upon the *true Spot* of Ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these *Assurances*, when upon further Diving, the *Indian* fetcht up a *Sow*, as they stil'd it, or a Lump of Silver, worth perhaps Two or Three Hundred Pounds. Upon this they prudently *Buoy'd* the place, that they might readily find it again; and they went back unto their Captain whom for some while they distressed with nothing but such *Bad News*, as they formerly thought they must have carried him: Nevertheless, they so slipt in the *Sow* of Silver on one side under the Table, where they were now sitting with the Captain, and hearing him express his Resolutions to wait still patiently upon the Providence of God under these Disappointments, that when he should look on one side he might see that *Odd Thing* be-

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fore him. At last he *saw* it; seeing it, he cried out with some Agony, *Why? What is this? Whence comes this?* And then, with changed Countenances, they told him *how*, and *where* they got it: *Then, said he, Thanks be to God! We are made;* and so away they went, all hands to Work; wherein they had this one further piece of Remarkable Prosperity, that whereas if they had first fallen upon that part of the *Spanish Wreck*, where the Pieces of Eight had been stowed in Bags among the Ballast, they had seen a more laborious, and less enriching time of it: Now, most happily, they first fell upon that Room in the *Wreck* where the *Bullion* had been stored up; and they so prospered in this *New Fishery*, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any Man's Life, brought up *Thirty Two Tuns* of Silver; for it was now come to measuring of Silver by *Tuns*. Besides which, one *Adderly* of *Providence*, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain *Phips* in the Search of this *Wreck*, did upon former Agreement meet him now with a little Vessel here; and *he*, with his few hands, took up about *Six Tuns* of Silver; whereof nevertheless he made so

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little use, that in a Year or Two he Died at *Bermudas*, and as I have heard, he ran *Distracted* some while before he Died. Thus did there once again come into the Light of the Sun, a Treasure which had been half an Hundred Years *groaning under the Waters*: And in this time there was grown upon the Plate a Crust like *Limestone*, to the thickness of several Inches; which Crust being broken open by Irons contrived for that purpose, they knockt out whole Bushels of rusty Pieces of Eight which were grown thereinto. Besides that incredible Treasure of Plate in various Forms, thus fetch'd up, from Seven or Eight Fathom under Water, there were vast Riches of *Gold*, and *Pearls*, and *Jewels*, which they also lit upon; and indeed, for a more Comprehensive *Invoice*, I must but summarily say, *All that a Spanish Frigot uses to be enricht withal*. Thus did they continue *Fishing* till their Provisions failing them, 'twas time to be gone; but before they went, Captain *Phips* caused *Adderly* and his Folk to swear, That they would none of them Discover the Place of the *Wreck*, or come to the Place any more till the next Year, when he

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expected again to be there himself. And it was also Remarkable, that though the Sows came up still so fast, that on the very last Day of their being there, they took up *Twenty*, yet it was afterwards found, that they had in a manner wholly cleared that Room of the Ship where those *Massy things* were Stowed.

But there was one extraordinary Distress which Captain *Phips* now found himself plunged into: For his Men were come out with him upon Seamens Wages, at so much *per Month*; and when they saw such vast Litters of Silver *Sows* and *Pigs*, as they call them, come on Board them at the Captain's Call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not *share* all among themselves, and be gone to lead *a short Life and a merry*, in a Climate where the Arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them. In this terrible Distress he made his Vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to *England* with what *he* had now given him, *to suck of the Abundance of the Seas, and of the Treasures hid in the Sands*, he would for ever Devote himself unto the Interests of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and

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of his People, especially in the *Country* which he did himself Originally belong unto. And he then used all the obliging *Arts* imaginable to make his Men true unto him, especially by assuring them, that besides their *Wages*, they should have ample *Requitals* made unto them; which if the rest of his Employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his *own share* among them. Relying upon the Word of One whom they had ever found worthy of their *Love*, and of their *Trust*, they declared themselves *Content*: But still keeping a most careful Eye upon them, he hastned back for *England* with as much *Money* as he thought he could then safely *Trust* his Vessel withal; not counting it safe to supply himself with necessary Provisions at any nearer Port, and so return unto the *Wreck*, by which delays he wisely feared lest all might be lost, more ways than one. Though he also left so much behind him, that many from divers Parts made very considerable Voyages of *Gleanings* after his *Harvest*: Which came to pass by certain *Bermudians*, compelling of *Adderly's* Boy, whom they *spirited* away with them, to tell them the

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exact place where the *Wreck* was to be found. Captain *Phips* now coming up to *London* in the Year 1687. with near *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling* aboard him, did acquit himself with such an Exemplary Honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his Assurances to the Seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual Care to have his Employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than *Sixteen Thousand Pounds* left unto himself: As an acknowledgment of which *Honesty* in him, the Duke of *Albemarle* made unto his Wife, whom he never saw, a Present of a *Golden Cup*, near a Thousand Pound in value. The Character of an *Honest Man* he had so merited in the whole Course of his Life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in Conjunction with his other serviceable Qualities, procured him the Favours of the Greatest Persons in the Nation; and *he that had been so diligent in his Business must now stand before Kings, and not stand before mean Men*. There were indeed certain *mean Men*, if base, little, dirty Tricks, will entitle Men to Meanness, who urged the King to

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seize his *whole Cargo*, instead of the Tenth, upon his first Arrival; on this pretence, that he had not been rightly inform'd of the *True state of the Case*, when he Granted the *Patent*, under the Protection whereof these *particular Men* had made themselves Masters of all this Mighty Treasure; but the King replied, That he had been *rightly informed* by Captain *Phips* of the whole Matter, as it now proved; and that it was the Slanders of one then present, which had, unto his Damage, hindered him from hearkning to the Information: Wherefore he would give them, he said, no Disturbance; they might keep what they had got; but Captain *Phips*, he saw, was a Person of that Honesty, Fidelity and Ability, that he should not want his Countenance. Accordingly the King, in Consideration of the Service done by him, in bringing such a Treasure into the Nation, conferr'd upon him the Honour of *Knighthood*; and if we now reckon him, *A Knight of the Golden Fleece*, the Stile might pretend unto some Circumstances that would justify it. Or call him, if you please, *The Knight of Honesty*; for it was *Honesty* with *Industry* that raised him; and

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he became a Mighty River, without the running in of Muddy Water to make him so. Reader, now make a Pause, and behold *One Raised by God!*

§ 7. I am willing to Employ the Testimonies of others, as much as may be, to support the Credit of my History: And therefore, as I have hitherto related no more than what there are others *Others* [*sic*] enough to avouch; thus I shall chuse the Words of an Ingenious Person Printed at *London* some Years ago, to express the Sum of what remains, whose Words are these; 'It has always been Sir *William Phips's* Disposition to seek the *Wealth* of his People with as great Zeal 'and Unweariedness, as our *Publicans* use to 'seek their *Loss* and *Ruin*. At first it seems 'they were in hopes to gain this Gentleman 'to their Party, as thinking him *Good Nature'd*, and easie to be flattered out of his 'Understanding; and the more, because they 'had the advantage of some, no very good, 'Treatment that Sir *William* had formerly 'met with from the People and Government 'of *New-England*. But Sir *William* soon

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‘shewed them, that what they expected would
‘be his *Temptation* to lead them into their
‘*little Tricks*, he embraced as a Glorious Op-
‘portunity to shew his *Generosity* and *Great-*
‘*ness of Mind*; for, in Imitation of the Great-
‘est Worthies that have ever been, he rather
‘chose to join in the Defence of his Country,
‘with some Persons who formerly were none
‘of his Friends, than become the Head of a
‘*Faction*, to its Ruin and Desolation. It
‘seems this Noble Disposition of Sir *William*,
‘joined with that Capacity and good Success
‘wherewith he hath been attended, in Raising
‘himself by such an Occasion, as it may be, all
‘things considered, has *never happened to any*
‘*before him*, makes these Men apprehensive;
‘——And it must needs heighten their
‘trouble to see, that he neither hath, nor doth
‘spare himself, nor any thing that is near and
‘dear unto him, in promoting the Good of his
‘Native Country.

When Sir *William Phips* was *per ardua &*
aspera, thus raised into an *Higher Orb*, it
might easily be thought that he could not
be without Charming Temptations to take
the *way on the left hand*. But as the Grace of

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God kept him in the midst of none of the strictest Company, unto which his Affairs daily led him, from abandoning himself to the lewd Vices of *Gaming, Drinking, Swearing* and *Whoring*, which the Men *that made England to Sin*, debauch'd so many of the Gentry into, and he deserved the Salutations of the *Roman Poet*:

Cum Tu, inter scabiem tantam, & Contagia Lucri,

Nil parvum sapias, & adhuc Sublimia cures:

Thus he was worthy to pass among the Instances of *Heroick Virtue* for that *Humility* that still Adorned him: He was *Raised*, and though he prudently accommodated himself to the *Quality* whereto he was now *Raised*, yet none could perceive him to be *Lifted up*. Or, if this were not *Heroick*, yet I will Relate one Thing more of him that must certainly be accounted so. He had in his own Country of *New-England* met with *Provocations* that were enough to have Alienated any Man Living, that had no more than *Flesh and Blood* in him, from the Service of it;

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and some that were Enemies to that Country, now lay hard at him to join with them in their Endeavours to Ravish away their *Ancient Liberties*. But this *Gentleman* had studied another way to *Revenge* himself upon his Country, and that was to serve it in all its Interests, with all of *his*, even with his *Estate*, his *Time*, his *Care*, his *Friends*, and his very *Life*! The old *Heathen* Virtue of PIETAS IN PATRIAM, or LOVE TO ONES COUNTRY, he turned into *Christian*; and so notably exemplified it, in all the Rest of his *Life*, that it will be an Essential Thread which is to be now interwoven into all that remains of his *History*, and his *Character*. Accordingly though he had the Offers of a very Gainful Place among the *Commissioners of the Navy*, with many other Invitations to settle himself in *England*, nothing but a Return to *New-England* would content him. And whereas the Charters of *New-England* being taken away, there was a Governour Imposed upon the Territories with as *Arbitrary* and as *Treasonable* a *Commission*, perhaps, as ever was heard of; a *Commission*, by which the Governour, with Three or Four more,

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none of whom were chosen by the People, had Power to make what *Laws* they would, and Levy *Taxes*, according to their own Humours, upon the People; and he himself had Power to send the best Men in the Land more than Ten Thousand Miles out of it, as he pleased: And in the Execution of his Power, the Country was every Day suffering Intollerable *Invasions* upon their *Proprieties*, yea, and the Lives of the best Men in the Territory began to be practised upon: Sir *William Phips* applied himself to Consider what was the most significant Thing that could be done by him for that poor People in their present Circumstances. Indeed, when King *James* offered, as he did, unto Sir *William Phips* an Opportunity to Ask what he pleased of him, Sir *William* Generously prayed for nothing but *this*, That New-England might have its lost *Priviledges Restored*. The King then Replied, *Any Thing but that!* Whereupon he set himself to Consider what was the *next Thing* that he might ask for the Service, not of himself, but of his *Country*. The Result of his Consideration was, That by Petition to the King, he Obtained, with expence of some

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Hundreds of *Guinea's*, a *Patent*, which constituted him *The High Sheriff of that Country*; hoping, by his Deputies in that Office, to supply the Country still with Consciencious Juries, which was the only Method that the *New-Englanders* had left them to secure any thing that was Dear unto them. Furnished with this *Patent*, after he had, in Company with Sir *John Narborough*, made a Second Visit unto the *Wreck*, (not so advantageous as the former for a Reason already mentioned) in his way he Returned unto *New-England*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. able, after Five Years Absence, to Entertain his Lady with some Accomplishment of his Predictions; and then Built himself a *Fair Brick House* in the very *place* which we foretold, the Reader can tell how many *Sections* ago. But the *Infamous Government* then Rampant there, found a way wholly to put by the Execution of this *Patent*; yea, he was like to have had his *Person* Assassinated in the Face of the Sun, before his own Door, which with some further Designs then in his Mind, caused him within a few Weeks to take another Voyage for *England*.

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§ 8. It would require a long Summers-Day to Relate the Miseries which were come, and coming in upon poor *New-England*, by reason of the *Arbitrary Government* then imposed on them; a *Government* wherein, as old *Wendover* says of the Time, when *Strangers* were domineering over *Subjects* in *England*, *Judicia committebantur Injustis, Leges Ex-legibus, Pax Discordantibus, Justitia Injuri-osis*; and *Foxes* were made the Administrators of Justice to the *Poultrey*; yet some *Abridgment* of them is necessary for the better understanding of the Matters yet before us. Now to make this *Abridgment* Impartial, I shall only have Recourse unto a little Book, Printed at *London*, under the Title of *The Revolution of New-England Justified*; wherein we have a *Narrative of the Grievances* under the Male Administrations of that Government, written and signed by the chief Gentlemen of the *Governour's Council*; together with the *Sworn Testimonies* of many good Men, to prove the several Articles of the *Declaration*, which the *New-Englanders* published against their Oppressors. It is in that Book demonstrated.

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That the Governour neglecting the greater Number of his *Council*, did Adhere principally to the Advice of a few *Strangers*, who were Persons without any *Interest* in the Country, but of declared *Prejudice* against it, and had plainly laid their *Designs* to make an Unreasonable *Profit* of the poor People: And *four* or *five* Persons had the absolute Rule over a *Territory*, the most *Considerable* of any belonging to the *Crown*.

That when *Laws* were proposed in the *Council*, tho' the *Major* part at any time Dissented from them, yet if the Governour were positive, there was no fair *Counting* the Number of *Councillors* Consenting, or Dissenting, but the *Laws* were immediately *Engrossed*, *Published* and *Executed*.

That this *Junto* made a *Law*, which prohibited the Inhabitants of any *Town* to meet about their *Town-Affairs* above *once* in a Year; for fear, you must Note, of their having any opportunity to Complain of *Grievances*.

That they made another *Law*, requiring all Masters of *Vessels*, even *Shallops* and *Woodboats*, to give *Security*, that no Man should be Transported in them, except his

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Name had been so many Days posted up: Whereby the Pockets of a few *Leeches* had been filled with *Fees*, but the whole Trade of the Country destroyed; and all Attempts to obtain a *Redress* of these Things obstructed; and when this *Act* had been strenuously opposed in Council at *Boston*, they carried it as far as *New-York*, where a Crew of them enacted it.

That without any *Assembly*, they Levied on the People a *Penny* in the Pound of all their *Estates*, and Twenty-pence *per Head*, as *Poll-money*, with a Penny in the Pound for *Goods* Imported, besides a Vast *Excise* on Wine; Rum; and other *Liquors*.

That when among the Inhabitants of *Ipswich*, some of the Principal Persons modestly gave Reasons why they could not chuse a *Commissioner* to *Tax* the Town, until the King should first be Petitioned for the Liberty of an *Assembly*, they were committed unto *Goal* for it, as an *High Misdemeanour*, and were denied an *Habeas Corpus*, and were dragg'd many Miles out of their own County to answer it at a Court in *Boston*; where *Jurors* were pickt for the Turn, that were not

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Freeholders, nay, that were meer *Sojourners*; and when the Prisoners pleaded the Priviledges of *English-men*, *That they should not be Taxed without their own consent*; they were told, *That those things would not follow them to the ends of the Earth*: As it had been before told them in *open Council*, no one in the Council contradicting it, *You have no more Priviledges left you, but this, that you are not bought and sold for Slaves*: And in fine, they were all *Fined* severely, and laid under great *Bonds* for their good Behaviour; besides all which, the *hungry Officers* extorted *Fees* from them that amounted unto an Hundred and Threescore Pounds; whereas in *England*, upon the like Prosecution, the *Fees* would not have been Ten Pounds in all. After which fashion the *Townsmen* of many other Places were also served.

That these Men giving out, *That the Charters* being lost, all the Title that the People had unto their Lands was lost with them; they began to *compel* the People everywhere to take *Patents* for their Lands: And accordingly *Writs of Intrusion* were issued out against the chief Gentlemen in the Territory,

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by the Terror whereof, many were actually driven to Petition for *Patents*, that they might quietly enjoy the Lands that had been Fifty or Sixty Years in their Possession; but for these *Patents* there were such exorbitant Prices demanded, that Fifty Pounds could not purchase for its Owner an Estate not worth *Two Hundred*, nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory have defrayed the Charges of *Patenting* the Lands at the Hands of these *Crocodiles*: Besides the considerable *Quit-Rents* for the King. Yea, the Governour caused the Lands of *particular Persons* to be measured out, and given to his Creatures: And some of his Council Petitioned for the *Commons* belonging to several Towns; and the *Agents* of the Towns going to get a *Voluntary Subscription* of the Inhabitants to maintain their Title at Law, they have been dragg'd Forty or Fifty Miles to answer as Criminals at the next Assizes; the Officers in the mean time extorting Three Pounds *per Man* for fetching them.

That if these *Harpies*, at any time, were a little *out of Money*, they found ways to Imprison the *best Men* in the Country; and there

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appeared not the least *Information* of any Crime exhibited against them, yet they were put unto Intollerable Expences by these Greedy Oppressors, and the Benefit of an *Habeas Corpus* not allowed unto them.

That packt and pickt *Juries* were commonly made use of, when under a pretended *Form of Law*, the Trouble of some Honest and Worthy Men was aimed at; and these also were hurried out of their own Counties to be tried, when *Juries* for the Turn were not like to be found there. The *Greatest Rigour* being used still towards the *soberest sort* of People, whilst in the mean time the most horrid Enormities in the World, committed by Others, were overlook'd.

That the publick Ministry of the Gospel, and all *Schools of Learning*, were discountenanced unto the Utmost.

And several more such abominable things, too notorious to be denied, even by a *Randolphian* Impudence it self, are in that Book proved against that *unhappy Government*. Nor did that most Ancient Set of the *Phœnician Shepherds*, who scrued the Government of *Egypt* into their Hands, as old *Mane-*

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thon tells us, by their *Villanies*, during the Reigns of those Tyrants, make a *Shepherd* more of an *Abomination* to the *Egyptians* in all after Ages, than these *Wolves* under the Name of *Shepherds* have made the Remembrance of their *French Government* an *Abomination* to all Posterity among the *New-Englanders*: A *Government*, for which, now, Reader, as fast as thou wilt, get ready this Epitaph:

Nulla quæsita Scelere Potentia diuturna.

It was under the Resentments of these Things that Sir *William Phips* returned into *England* in the Year 1688. In which *Twice-Wonderful-Year* such a *Revolution* was wonderfully accomplished upon the whole Government of the *English Nation*, that *New-England*, which had been a *Specimen* of what the whole Nation was to look for, might justly hope for a share in the General Deliverance. Upon this Occasion Sir *William* offered his best Assistances unto that Eminent Person, who a little before this Revolution betook himself unto *White-Hall*, that he might there

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lay hold on all Opportunities to procure some Relief unto the Oppressions of that afflicted Country. But seeing the *New-English* Affairs in so able an Hand, he thought the best Stage of *Action* for him would now be *New-England* it self; and so with certain Instructions from none of the least considerable Persons at *White-Hall*, what Service to do for his Country, in the Spring of the Year 1689. he hastened back unto it. Before he left *London*, a Messenger from the Abdicated King tender'd him the Government of *New-England*, if he would accept it: But as that excellent Attorney General, Sir *William Jones*, when it was proposed that the *Plantations* might be Governed without *Assemblies*, told the King, *That he could no more Grant a Commission to levy Money on his Subjects there, without their consent by an Assembly, than they could Discharge themselves from their Allegiance to the English Crown.* So Sir *William Phips* thought it his Duty to refuse a *Government without an Assembly*, as a thing that was Treason in the very *Essence* of it; and instead of Petitioning the succeeding Princes, that his *Patent for High Sheriff* might be rendred

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Effectual, he joined in Petitions, that *New-England* might have its own old *Patent* so Restored, as to render ineffectual *that*, and all other Grants that might cut short any of its Ancient Priviledges. But when Sir *William* arrived at *New-England*, he found a new Face of things; for about an Hundred Indians in the *Eastern Parts* of the Country, had unaccountably begun a War upon the *English* in *July*, 1688. and though the Governour then in the *Western Parts* had immediate Advice of it, yet he not only delayed and neglected all that was necessary for the *Publick Defence*, but also when he at last returned, he manifested a most Furious Displeasure against those of the Council, and all others that had forwarded any one thing for the security of the Inhabitants; while at the same time he dispatched some of his Creatures upon secret Errands unto *Canada*, and set at Liberty some of the most Murderous *Indians* which the *English* had seized upon.

This Conduct of the Governour, which is in a *Printed Remonstrance* of some of the best Gentlemen in the Council complained of, did extreamly dissatisfie the *Suspicious*

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People: Who were doubtless more extream in some of their *Suspensions*, than there was any *real Occasion* for: But the Governour at length raised an Army of a *Thousand English* to Conquer this *Hundred Indians*; and this Army, whereof some of the chief Commanders were *Papists*, underwent the Fatigues of a long and a cold Winter, in the most *Caucasæn* Regions of the Territory, till, without the killing of *One Indian*, there were more of the poor People killed, than they had Enemies there alive! This added not a little to the Dissatisfaction of the People, and it would much more have done so, if they had seen what the World had not yet seen of the *Suggestions* made by the *Irish Catholicks* unto the Late King, published in the Year 1691. in the *Account of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*, Licensed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, whereof one Article runs in these Express Terms, *That if any of the Irish cannot have their Lands in Specie, but Money in Lieu, some of them may Transport themselves into America, possibly near New-England, to check the growing Independants of that Country*: Or if they had seen what was

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afterwards seen in a Letter from K. *James* to His *Holiness*, (as they stile his *Foolishness*) the Pope of *Rome*; that it was his full Purpose to have set up *Roman-Catholick* Religion in the *English* Plantations of *America*: Tho' after all, there is Cause to think that there was more made of the *Suspensions* then flying like Wild-Fire about the Country, than a strong *Charity* would have Countenanced. When the People were under these *Frights*, they had got by the Edges a little Intimation of the then Prince of *Orange's* glorious Undertaking to deliver *England* from the *Feared* Evils, which were already *felt* by *New-England*; but when the Person who brought over a Copy of the Prince's *Declaration* was Imprisoned for bringing into the Country a *Treasonable Paper*, and the Governour, by his Proclamation, required all Persons to use their *utmost Endeavours to hinder* the *Landing* of any whom the Prince might send thither, *this* put them almost out of Patience. And one thing that plunged the more Considerate Persons in the Territory into uneasie thoughts, was the *Faulty Action* of some Soldiers, who upon the Common *Suspensions*, deserted their

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Stations in the Army, and caused their Friends to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect from the Demands of the Governour their poor Children and Brethren, whom they thought bound for a *Bloody Sacrifice*: And there were also belonging to the *Rose-Frigot* some that buzz'd surprising Stories about *Boston*, of many Mischiefs to be thence expected. Wherefore, some of the Principal Gentlemen in *Boston* consulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, They all agreed that they would, if it were possible, extinguish all Essays in the People towards an *Insurrection*, in daily Hopes of Orders from *England* for their Safety: But that if the Country People by any violent Motions push'd the Matter on so far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, then to prevent the shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, some of the Gentlemen present should appear at the Head of the *Action* with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. By the *Eighteenth* of *April*, 1689. Things were pushed on so far by the People, that certain Persons first Seized the Captain of the *Frigot*, and the Rumor thereof running

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like Lightning through *Boston*, the whole Town was immediately in Arms, with the most *Unanimous Resolution* perhaps that ever was known to have inspir'd any People. They then seized those Wretched Men, who by their innumerable *Extortions* and *Abuses* had made themselves the Objects of *Universal Hatred*; not giving over till the *Governour* himself was become their *Prisoner*: The whole *Action* being managed without the least *Bloodshed* or *Plunder*, and with as much *Order* as ever attended any *Tumult*, it may be, in the World. Thus did the *New-Englanders* assert their Title to the Common Rights of *Englishmen*; and except the Plantations are willing to Degenerate from the Temper of True *Englishmen*, or except the *Revolution* of the whole *English Nation* be condemned, their *Action* must so far be justified. On their late *Oppressors*, now under just Confinement, they took no other Satisfaction, but sent them over unto *White-Hall* for the Justice of the King and Parliament. And when the Day for the *Anniversary Election*, by their vacated *Charter*, drew near, they had many Debates into what Form they

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should cast the Government, which was till then Administred by a *Committee for the Conservation of the Peace*, composed of Gentlemen whose *Hap* it was to appear in the Head of the late *Action*; but their Debates Issued in this Conclusion; That the *Governour* and *Magistrates*, which were in power before the late *Usurpation*, should Resume their Places, and apply themselves unto the *Conservation of the Peace*, and put forth what *Acts of Government* the Emergencies might make needful for them, and thus to wait for further Directions from the Authority of *England*. So was there Accomplished a *Revolution* which delivered *New-England* from grievous Oppressions, and which was most graciously Accepted by the *King* and *Queen*, when it was Reported unto their Majesties. But there were new Matters for Sir *William Phips*, in a little while, now to think upon.

§ 9. Behold the great things which were done by the Sovereign God, for a Person once as little in his *own Eyes* as in *other Mens*. All the Returns which he had hitherto made

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unto the *God of his Mercies*, were but Preliminaries to what remain to be related. It has been the Custom in the Churches of *New-England*, still to expect from such Persons as they admitted unto constant Communion with them, that they do not only Publickly and Solemnly *Declare* their *Consent* unto the *Covenant of Grace*, and particularly to those Duties of it, wherein a *Particular Church-State* is more immediately concerned, but also first relate unto the *Pastors*, and by them unto the *Brethren*, the special Impressions which the *Grace* of God has made upon their Souls in bringing them to this *Consent*. By this *Custom* and *Caution*, though they cannot keep *Hypocrites* from their Sacred Fellowship, yet they go as far as they can, to render and preserve themselves *Churches of Saints*, and they do further very much *Edifie one another*. When Sir *William Phips* was now returned unto his *own House*, he began to bethink himself, like *David*, concerning the *House* of the *God* who had surrounded him with so many Favours in *his own*; and accordingly he applied himself unto the *North Church* in *Boston*, that with his open Profession of his

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Hearty Subjection to the *Gospel* of the Lord Jesus Christ, he might have the *Ordinances* and the *Priviledges* of the *Gospel* added unto his other Enjoyments. One thing that quickned his Resolution to do what might be in this Matter expected from him, was a Passage which he heard from a Minister Preaching on the Title of the *Fifty-First Psalm*: *To make a publick and an open Profession of Repentance, is a thing not misbecoming the greatest Man alive. It is an Honour to be found among the Repenting People of God, though they be in Circumstances never so full of Suffering. A Famous Knight going with other Christians to be Crowned with Martyrdom, observed, That his Fellow-Sufferers were in Chains, from which the Sacrificers had, because of his Quality excus'd him; whereupon he demanded, that he might wear Chains as well as they. For, said he, I would be a Knight of that Order too; There is among our selves a Repenting People of God, who by their Confessions at their Admissions to his Table, do signalize their being so; and thanks be to God that we have so little of Suffering in our Circumstances. But if any Man*

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count himself grown too big to be a Knight of that Order, the Lord Jesus Christ himself will one Day be ashamed of that Man! Upon this Excitation, Sir William Phips made his Address unto a *Congregational-Church*, and he had therein one thing to propound unto himself, which few Persons of his Age, so well satisfied in *Infant-Baptism* as he was, have then to ask for. Indeed, in the Primitive Times, although the *Lawfulness* of *Infant-Baptism*, or the Precept and Pattern of *Scripture* for it, was never so much as once made a Question, yet we find *Baptism* was frequently delayed by Persons upon several superstitious and unreasonable Accounts, against which we have such Fathers as *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, and others, employing a variety of Argument. But Sir William Phips had hitherto delayed his *Baptism*, because the Years of his Childhood were spent where there was no settled Minister, and therefore he was now not only willing to attain a good Satisfaction of his own Internal and Practical *Christianity*, before his receiving that *Mark* thereof, but he was also willing to receive it

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among those *Christians* that seemed most sensible of the *Bonds* which it laid them under. Offering himself therefore, first unto the *Baptism*, and then unto the *Supper* of the Lord, he presented unto the Pastor of the Church, with his own *Hand-Writing*, the following *Instrument*; which because of the Exemplary *Devotion* therein expressed, and the Remarkable *History* which it gives of several Occurrences in his Life, I will here faithfully Transcribe it, without adding so much as one Word unto it.

‘The first of God’s making me sensible of
‘my *Sins*, was in the Year 1674. by hearing
‘your Father Preach concerning, *The Day of*
‘*Trouble near*. It pleased Almighty God to
‘smite me with a deep Sence of my miserable
‘Condition, who had lived until then in the
‘World, and had *done nothing for God*. I did
‘then begin to think *what I should do to be*
‘*saved?* And did bewail my *Youthful Days*,
‘which I had spent *in vain*: I did think that
‘I would begin to mind the *things of*
‘*God*. Being then some time under your
‘Father’s Ministry, much troubled with my
‘*Burden*, but thinking on that Scripture, *Come*

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‘unto me, you that are weary and heavy La-
‘den, and I will give you Rest; I had some
‘thoughts of drawing as near to the Commun-
‘ion of the Lord *Jesus* as I could; but the
‘Ruins which the *Indian Wars* brought on
‘my Affairs, and the Entanglements which
‘my following the *Sea* laid upon me, hindred
‘my pursuing the Welfare of my own Soul
‘as I ought to have done. At length God was
‘pleased to smile upon my *Outward Con-*
‘cerns. The various *Providences*, both Merciful
‘and Afflictive, which attended me in my
‘Travels, were sanctified unto me, to make
‘me *Acknowledge God in all my Ways*. I have
‘divers Times been in danger of my *Life*, and
‘I have been brought to see that I owe my
‘*Life* to him that has given a *Life* so often
‘to me: I thank God, he hath brought me to
‘see my self altogether unhappy, without an
‘Interest in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and to close
‘heartily with him, desiring him to Execute
‘*All his Offices* on my Behalf. I have now,
‘for some time, been under serious *Resolu-*
‘tions, that I would avoid whatever I should
‘know to be Displeasing unto God, and that
‘I would *Serve him all the Days of my Life*.

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'I believe *no Man will Repent the Service of*
'*such a Master*. I find my self *unable* to keep
'*such Resolutions*, but my serious *Prayers* are
'to the Most High, that *he would enable* me.
'God hath done so much for me, that I am
'sensible I owe my self to him; *To him would*
'*I give my self, and all that he has given to*
'*me*. I can't express his Mercies to me. But
'as soon as ever God had smiled upon me with
'a Turn of my Affairs, I had laid my self
'under the VOWS of the Lord, *That I would*
'*set my self to serve his People, and Churches*
'*here, unto the utmost of my Capacity*. I have
'had great Offers made me in *England*; but
'the Churches of *New-England* were those
'which my Heart was most set upon. I knew,
'*That if God had a People any where, it was*
'*here*: And I *Resolved to rise and fall with*
'*them*; neglecting very great Advantages for
'my Worldly Interest, that I might come and
'enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus here.
'It has been my Trouble, that since I came
'Home I have made no more haste to get into
'the *House of God*, where *I desire to be*:
'Especially having heard so much about the
'*Evil* of that Omission. I can do little for

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‘God, but I desire to wait upon him in his
‘Ordinances, and to live to his Honour and
‘Glory. My being Born in a part of the Coun-
‘try, where I had not in my *Infancy* enjoyed
‘the *First Sacrament* of the *New-Testament*,
‘has been something of a *Stumbling-Block*
‘unto me. But though I have had Profers of
‘*Baptism* elsewhere made unto me, I resolved
‘rather to defer it, until I might enjoy it in
‘the Communion of these Churches; and I
‘have had awful Impressions from those
‘Words of the Lord Jesus in *Matth. 8. 38.*
‘*Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of*
‘*my Words, of him also shall the Son of Man*
‘*be ashamed.* When God had blessed me with
‘something of the World, I had no Trouble so
‘great as this, *Lest it should not be in Mercy;*
‘and I trembled at nothing more than being
‘*put off with a Portion here.* That I may make
‘sure of *better things*, I now offer my self un-
‘to the Communion of this Church of the
‘Lord JESUS.

Accordingly on *March 23. 1690.* after he
had in the Congregation of *North-Boston*
given himself up, *first unto the Lord, and*
then unto his People, he was *Baptized,* and

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so received into the *Communion* of the Faithful there.

§ 10. Several times, about, before and after *this time*, did I hear him express himself unto this purpose: *I have no need at all to look after any further Advantages for my self in this World; I may sit still at Home, if I will, and enjoy my Ease for the rest of my Life; but I believe that I should offend God in my doing so: For I am now in the Prime of my Age and Strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo Hardship: He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my Duty to venture my Life in doing of good, before an useless Old Age comes upon me: Wherefore I will now expose my self while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the Service of my Country: I was Born for others, as well as my self.* I say, many a time have I heard him so express himself: And agreeable to this Generous *Disposition* and *Resolution* was all the rest of his Life. About this time *New-England* was miserably *Briar'd* in the Perplexities of an *Indian War*; and the Salvages, in the *East* part of the Country, issuing out from their inaccessible *Swamps*, had for many

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Months made their Cruel Depredations upon the poor *English* Planters, and surprized many of the Plantations on the Frontiers, into Ruin. The *New-Englanders* found, that while they continued only on the *Defensive* part, their *People* were thinned, and their *Treasures* wasted, without any hopes of seeing a Period put unto the *Indian Tragedies*; nor could an Army greater than *Xerxes's* have easily come at the seemingly contemptible handful of *Tawnies* which made all this Disturbance; or, *Tamerlain*, the greatest Conqueror that ever the World saw, have made it a Business of no *Trouble* to have *Conquered* them: They found, that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enswamped Adversaries, except Mr. *Milton* could have shown them how

*To have pluckt up the Hills with all
their Load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their
shaggy tops,
Up-lifting, bore them in their Hands,
therewith
The Rebel Host to've over-whelm'd—*

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So it was thought that the *English* Subjects, in these Regions of *America*, might very properly take this occasion to make an attempt upon the *French*, and by reducing them under the *English* Government, put an Eternal Period at once unto all their Troubles from the *Frenchified Pagans*. This was a Motion urged by Sir *William Phips* unto the General Court of the *Massachuset-Colony*; and he then made unto the Court a brave *Offer* of his own Person and Estate, for the Service of the Publick in their present Extremity, as far as they should see Cause to make use thereof. Whereupon they made a *First Essay* against the *French*, by sending a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir *William Phips*, against *L'Acady* and *Nova Scotia*; of which Action we shall give only this General and Summary Account; that Sir *William Phips* set Sail from *Nantascot*, April 28. 1690. Arriving at *Port-Royal*, May 11. and had the Fort quickly Surrender'd into his Hands by the *French* Enemy, who despaired of holding out against him. He then took Possession of that Province for the *English* Crown, and having Demol-

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ished the Fort, and sent away the Garrison, Administred unto the Planters an *Oath of Allegiance* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he left what Order he thought convenient for the Government of the Place, until further Order should be taken by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, unto whom he returned *May 30.* with an acceptable Account of his Expedition, and accepted a Place among the *Magistrates* of that Colony, to which the *Free-Men* had chosen him at their *Anniversary Election* Two Days before.

Thus the Country, once given by King *James* the First unto Sir *William Alexander*, was now by another Sir *William* recovered out of the Hands of the *French*, who had afterwards got the Possession of it; and there was added unto the *English Empire*, a Territory, whereof no Man can Read Monsieur *Denys's Description Geographique & Historique des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, but he must reckon the Conquest of a Region so Improvable, for *Lumber*, for *Fishing*, for *Mines*, and for *Furrs*, a very considerable *Service*. But if a smaller *Service* has,

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e'er now, ever merited a *Knighthood*, Sir *William* was willing to Repeat his Merits by Actions of the greatest *Service* possible:

*Nil Actum credens, si quid superesset
agendum.*

§ 11. The Addition of this *French Colony* to the *English Dominion*, was no more than a *little step* towards a *greater Action*, which was first in the Design of Sir *William Phips*, and which was, indeed, the *greatest Action* that ever the *New-Englanders* Attempted. There was a time when the *Philistines* had made some Inroads and Assaults from the *Northward*, upon the Skirts of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* had a Residence, before their coming out of *Egypt*. The *Israelites*, and especially that Active Colony of the *Ephraimites*, were willing to Revenge these Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours; they presumed themselves Powerful and Numerous enough to Encounter the *Canaanites*, even in their own Country; and they formed a brisk *Expedition*, but came off unhappy Losers in it; the *Jewish Rabbins* tell

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us, they lost no less than *Eight Thousand Men*. The *Time* was not yet come; there was more *Haste* than good *Speed* in the Attempt; they were not enough concerned for the *Counsel* and *Presence* of God in the Undertaking; they mainly propounded the *Plunder* to be got among a People, whose Trade was that wherewith *Beasts* enriched them; so the business miscarried. This History the Psalmist going to recite, says, *I will utter dark Sayings of old*. Now that what befel Sir William Phips, with his whole Country of *New-England*, may not be almost forgotten among *the dark Sayings of old*, I will here give the true Report of a very memorable Matter.

It was *Canada* that was the chief Source of *New-England's* Miseries. *There* was the main Strength of the *French*; *there* the *Indians* were mostly supplied with Ammunition; *thence* Issued Parties of Men, who uniting with the Salvages, barbarously murdered many Innocent *New-Englanders*, without any Provocation on the *New-English* part, except this, that *New-England* had Proclaimed King *William* and *Q. Mary*, which they said were *Usurpers*; and as *Cato* could

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make no Speech in the Senate without that Conclusion, *Delenda est Carthago*; so it was the general Conclusion of all that Argued sensibly about the safety of that Country, *Canada must be Reduced*. It then became the concurring Resolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, to make a Vigorous Attack upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land.

And a Fleet was accordingly fitted out from *Boston*, under the Command of Sir *William Phips*, to fall upon *Quebeck*, the chief City of *Canada*. They waited until *August* for some Stores of War from *England*, whither they had sent for that purpose early in the Spring; but none at last arriving, and the Season of the Year being so far spent, Sir *William* could not, without many Discouragements upon his Mind, proceed in a Voyage, for which he found himself so poorly provided. However, the Ships being taken up, and the Men on Board, his usual Courage would not permit him to Desist from the Enterprize; but he set Sail from *Hull* near *Boston*, *August* 9. 1690. with a Fleet of *Thirty Two* Ships and Tenders; whereof one, called *the Six Friends*, carrying Forty Four great

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Guns, and Two Hundred Men, was *Admiral*. Sir *William* dividing the Fleet into several Squadrons, whereof there was *the Six Friends*, Captain *Gregory Sugars* Commander, with Eleven more of the Admiral's Squadron, of which one was also a Capital Ship, namely, *The John and Thomas*, Captain *Thomas Carter* Commander; of the *Vice-Admirals*, the *Swan*, Captain *Thomas Gilbert* Commander, with Nine more; of the *Rear Admirals*, the *America-Merchant*, Captain *Joseph Eldridge* Commander, with Nine more, and above Twenty Hundred Men on Board the whole Fleet: He so happily managed his Charge, that they every one of them Arrived safe at Anchor before *Quebeck*, although they had as dangerous, and almost untrodden a *Path*, to take *Un-Piloted*, for the whole Voyage, as ever any Voyage was undertaken with. Some small *French Prizes* he took by the way, and set up *English Colours* upon the Coast, here and there, as he went along; and before the Month of *August* was out, he had spent several Days as far onward of his Voyage, as between the Island of *Antecosta*, and the *Main*. But when they entred the mighty River of

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Canada, such adverse Winds encountred the Fleet, that they were *Three Weeks* dispatching the way, which might otherwise have been gone in *Three Days*, and it was the Fifth of *October*, when a fresh Breeze coming up at *East*, carried them along by the *North Shore*, up to the Isle of *Orleans*; and then haling *Southerly*, they passed by the East end of that *Island*, with the whole Fleet approaching the City of *Quebeck*. This loss of Time, which made it so late before the Fleet could get into the Country, where a cold and fierce *Winter* was already very far advanced, gave no very *good* Prospect of Success to the Expedition; but that which gave a much *worse*, was a most horrid *Mismanagement*, which had, the mean while, happened in the *West*. For a Thousand *English* from *New-York*, and *Albany*, and *Connecticut*, with Fifteen Hundred *Indians*, were to have gone overland in the *West*, and fallen upon *Mount-Royal*, while the Fleet was to Visit *Quebeck* in the *East*; and no Expedition could have been better laid than *This*, which was thus contrived. But those *English* Companies in the *West*, marching as far as the great Lake

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that was to be passed, found their *Canoos* not provided, according to Expectation; and the *Indians* also were [*How?* God knows, and will one Day Judge] Dissuaded from Joining with the *English*; and the Army met with such Discouragements, that they returned.

Had this *Western Army* done but so much as continued at the *Lake*, the Diversion thereby given to the *French* Quartered at *Mount-Royal*, would have rendered the Conquest of *Quebeck* easie and certain; but the Governour of *Canada* being Informed of the Retreat made by the *Western-Army*, had opportunity, by the cross Winds that kept back the Fleet, unhappily to get the whole Strength of all the Country into the City, before the Fleet could come up unto it. However, none of these Difficulties hindred Sir *William Phips* from sending on Shoar the following Summons, on *Monday* the Sixth of *October*.

Sir *William Phips*, Knight, General and
Commander in Chief, in and over Their
Majesties Forces of *New-England*, by Sea
and Land;

To Count *Frontenac*, Lieutenant-General
and Governour for the *French King* at
Canada; or in his Absence, to his Depu-
ty, or Him, or Them, in Chief Com-
mand at *Quebeck*.

THE *War between the Two Crowns of
England and France, doth not only
sufficiently Warrant; but the Destruc-
tion made by the French and Indians, under
your Command and Encouragement, upon
the Persons and Estates of Their Majesties
Subjects of New-England, without Provoca-
tion on their part, hath put them under the
Necessity of this Expedition, for their own
Security and Satisfaction. And although the
Cruelties and Barbarities used against them,
by the French and Indians, might, upon the
present Opportunity, prompt unto a severe
Revenge, yet being desirous to avoid all In-*

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humane and Unchristian-like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

I the aforesaid Sir William Phips, Knight, do hereby, in the Name, and in the Behalf of Their Most Excellent Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by Order of Their said Majesties Government of the Massachuset-Colony in New-England, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King's and other Stores, unimbezzelled, with a seasonable Delivery of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your Persons and Estates to my Dispose: Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a Christian, according to what shall be found for Their Majesties Service, and the Subjects Security. Which if you Refuse forthwith to do, I am come Provided, and am Resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all Wrongs and Injuries offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of England; and when too late,

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make you wish you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

Your Answer Positive in an Hour, returned by your own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Required upon the Peril that will ensue.

The Summons being Delivered unto Count Frontenac, his Answer was;

That Sir William Phips, and those with him, were Hereticks and Traitors to their King, and had taken up with that Usurper, the Prince of Orange, and had made a Revolution, which if it had not been made, New-England and the French had been all One; and that no other Answer was to be expected from him, but what should be from the Mouth of his Cannon.

General Phips now saw that it must cost him *Dry Blows*, and that he must Roar his Perswasions out of the Mouths of *Great Guns*, to make himself Master of a City which had certainly Surrender'd it self unto him, if he

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had arrived but a little sooner, and Summon'd it before the coming down of Count *Frontenac* with all his Forces, to Command the oppressed People there, who would have been, many of them, glader of coming under the *English* Government. Wherefore on the Seventh of *October*, the *English*, that were for the Land-Service, went on Board their lesser Vessels, in order to Land; among which there was a Bark, wherein was Captain *Ephraim Savage*, with sixty Men, that ran a-ground upon the *North-Shoar*, near two Miles from *Quebeck*, and could not get off, but lay in the same Distress that *Scæva* did, when the *Britains* poured in their Numbers upon the *Bark*, wherein he, with a few more Soldiers of *Cæsar's* Army, were, by the disadvantage of the *Tide*, left Ashoar: The *French*, with *Indians*, that saw them lye there, came near, and Fired thick upon them, and were bravely Answered; and when two or Three Hundred of the Enemy, at last planted a Field-Piece against the *Bark*, while the Wind blew so hard, that no help could be sent unto his Men, the General advanced so far, as to Level Two or Three great Guns, conveniently enough to

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make the Assailants Fly; and when the Flood came, the Bark happily got off, without the hurt of one Man aboard. But so violent was the Storm of Wind all this Day, that it was not possible for them to Land until the Eighth of *October*; when the *English* counting every *Hour* to be a *Week* until they were come to Battel, vigorously got Ashoar, designing to enter the *East-end* of the City. The *Small-Pox* had got into the Fleet, by which Distemper prevailing, the number of Effective Men which now went Ashoar, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Walley*, did not amount unto more than Fourteen Hundred; but Four Companies of these were drawn out as *Forlorns*, whom, on every side, the Enemy fired at; nevertheless, the *English* Rushing with a shout, at once upon them caused them to Run as fast as Legs could carry them: So that the whole *English* Army, expressing as much Resolution as was in *Cæsar's* Army, when they first landed on *Britain*, in spite of all opposition from the Inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having first killed many of the *French*, with the loss of but *Four* Men of their own; and frightened about Seven or

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Eight Hundred more of the *French* from an Ambuscado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But some thought, that by *staying in the Valley*, they took the way *never to get over the Hill*: And yet for them to stay where they were, till the smaller Vessels came up the River before them, so far as by their Guns to secure the Passage of the Army in their *getting over*, was what the Council of War had ordered. But the Violence of the *Weather*, with the General's being sooner plunged into the heat of Action than was intended, hindred the smaller Vessels from attending that Order. And this Evening a *French* Deserter coming to them, assured them, that Nine Hundred Men were on their March from *Quebeck* to meet them, already passed a little Rivulet that lay at the end of the City, but seeing them Land so suddenly, and so valiantly run down those that first Encountred them, they had Retreated: Nevertheless, That Count *Frontenac* was come down to *Quebeck* with no fewer than *Thirty Hundred* Men to defend the City, having left but *Fifty* Souldiers to defend *Mount Real*, because they had understood, that the *English* Army on that side,

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were gone back to *Albany*. Notwithstanding this dis-spiriting Information, the common Souldiers did with much vehemency Beg and Pray, that they might be led on; professing, that they had rather lose their Lives on the Spot, than fail of taking the City; but the more wary Commanders considered how rash a thing it would be, for about Fourteen Hundred Raw Men, tired with a long Voyage, to assault more than Twice as many Expert Souldiers, who were *Galli in suo sterquilinio*, or *Cocks Crowing on their own Dunghil*. They were, in truth, now gotten into the grievous Case which *Livy* describes, when he says, *Ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi non consistendi aut procedendi locus; quocunque aspexeris Hostilia sunt omnia*; look on one side or t'other, all was full of *Hostile Difficulties*. And indeed, whatever Popular Clamour has been made against any of the Commanders, it is apparent that they acted considerately, in making a *Pause* upon what was before them; and they did a greater kindness to their Souldiers than they have since been thanked for. But in this time, General *Phips* and his Men of War, with their *Canvas Wings*, flew close

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up unto the West-end of the City, and there he behaved himself with the greatest Bravery imaginable; nor did the other Men of War forbear to follow his brave Example: Who never discovered himself more in his Element, than when (as the Poet expresseth it,)

*The Slaughter-Breathing Brass grew hot, and
spoke
In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of
Smoke:*

He lay within *Pistol-shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and very much batter'd the Town, having his own Ship shot through in almost an Hundred Places with *Four and Twenty Pounders*, and yet but one Man was killed, and only Two Mortally Wounded Aboard him, in this hot Engagement, which continued the greatest part of that Night, and several Hours of the Day ensuing. But wondring that he saw no *Signal* of any Effective Action Ashoar at the East-end of the City, he sent that he might know the Condition of the Army there; and received Answer, That several of the Men were so

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frozen in their Hands and Feet, as to be disabled from Service, and others were apace falling sick of the *Small-Pox*. Whereupon he order'd them on Board immediately to refresh themselves, and he intended then to have renew'd his Attack upon the City, in the Method of Landing his Men in the Face of it, under the shelter of his great Guns; having to that purpose provided also a considerable number of well-shaped *Wheel-Barrows*, each of them carrying Two *Petarraro's* apiece, to March before the Men, and make the Enemy Fly, with as much Contempt as overwhelmed the *Philistines*, when undone by *Foxes* with *Torches* in their Tails; (remembred in an Anniversary Diversion every *April* among the Ancient *Romans*, taught by the *Phenicians*.)

While the Measures to be further taken were debating, there was made an Exchange of Prisoners, the *English* having taken several of the *French* in divers Actions, and the *French* having in their Hands divers of the *English*, whom the *Indians* had brought Captives unto them. The Army now on Board continued still Resolute and Courageous, and on fire for the Conquest of *Quebeck*; or if they

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had missed of doing it by Storm, they knew that they might, by possessing themselves of the Isle of *Orleans*, in a little while have starved them out. Incredible Damage they might indeed have done to the Enemy before they Embarked, but they were willing to preserve the most undefensible Parts of the Country in such a Condition, as might more sensibly Encourage the Submission of the Inhabitants unto the Crown of *England*, whose Protection was desired by so many of them. And still they were loth to play for any lesser Game than the immediate Surrender of *Quebeck* it self. But e're a full *Council of War* could conclude the next Steps to be taken, a violent *Storm* arose that separated the Fleet, and the Snow and the Cold became so extream, that they could not continue in those Quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident *Hand of Heaven*, sending one unavoidable Disaster after another, as well-formed an Enterprize, as perhaps was ever made by the *New-Englanders*, most unhappily miscarried; and General *Phips* underwent a very mortifying Disappointment of a Design, which his Mind was, as much as ever any, set upon. He arrived

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Nov. 19. at *Boston*, where, although he found himself, as well as the Publick, thrown into very *uneasie* Circumstances, yet he had this to Comfort him, that neither his Courage nor his Conduct could reasonably have been Taxed; nor could it be said that any Man could have done more than he did, under so many *Embarassments of his Business*, as he was to Fight withal. He also relieved the uneasiness of his Mind, by considering, that his Voyage to *Canada*, diverted from his Country an *Horrible Tempest* from an Army of *Boss-Lopers*, which had prepar'd themselves, as 'tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the *New-English Colonies*, and by falling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the Country desolate. And he further considered, that in this Matter, like *Israel* engaging against *Benjamin*, it may be, we saw yet but the *beginning* of the matter: And that the way to *Canada* now being learnt, the Foundation of a Victory over it might be laid in what had been already done. Unto this purpose likewise, he was heard sometimes applying the Remarkable Story reported by *Bradwardine*.

'There was an *Hermit*, who being vexed

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‘with Blasphemous Injections about the Justice and Wisdom of Divine *Providence*, an Angel in Humane Shape invited him to Travel with him, *That he might see the hidden Judgments of God*. Lodging all Night at the House of a Man who kindly entertain’d them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup from their Host, at their going away in the Morning, and bestowed this Cup upon a very *wicked Man*, with whom they lodged the Night ensuing. The Third Night they were most lovingly Treated at the House of a very Godly Man, from whom, when they went in the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of his, threw him over the Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And the Fourth, being in like manner most courteously Treated at the House of a very Godly Man, the Angel before Morning did unaccountably kill his only *Child*. The Companion of the Journey being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his *Guardian*: But the Angel then thus Addressed him, *Understand now the Secret Judgments of God! The first Man that entertained us, did inordinately affect that Cup*

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*'which I took from him; twas for the Advan-
'tage of his Interiour that I took it away, and
'I gave it unto the impious Man, as the present
'Reward of his good Works, which is all the
'Reward that he is like to have. As for our
'Third Host, the Servant which I slew had
'formed a bloody Design to have slain his
'Master, but now, you see, I have saved the
'Life of the Master, and prevented something
'of growth unto the Eternal Punishment of
'the Murderer. As for our Fourth Host, before
'his Child was Born unto him, he was a very
'liberal and bountiful Person, and he did
'abundance of good with his Estate; but when
'he saw he was like to leave such an Heir, he
'grew Covetous; wherefore the Soul of the In-
'fant is Translated into Paradise, but the occa-
'sion of Sin is, you see, mercifully taken away
'from the Parent.*

Thus General *Phips*, though he had been used unto *Diving* in his time, would say, *That the things which had befallen him in this Expedition, were too deep to be Dived into!*

§ 12. From the time that General *Pen* made his Attempt upon *Hispaniola*, with an Army that, like the *New-English* Forces

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against *Canada*, miscarried after an Expectation of having little to do but to *Possess and Plunder*; even to this Day, the general Disaster which hath attended almost every Attempt of the *European Colonies in America*, to make any considerable Encroachments upon their Neighbours, is a Matter of some close Reflection. But of the Disaster which now befel poor *New-England* in particular, every one will easily conclude none of the least Consequences to have been the *Extream Debts* which that Country was now plunged into; there being *Forty Thousand Pounds*, more or less, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treasury to pay it withal. In this *Extremity* they presently found out an *Expedient*, which may serve as an *Example* for any People in other Parts of the World, whose Distresses may call for a sudden supply of *Money* to carry them through any Important *Expedition*. The *General Assembly* first pass'd an *Act* for the Levying of such a Sum of *Money* as was wanted, within such a Term of time as was judged convenient; and this *Act* was a *Fund*, on which the *Credit* of such a Sum should be rendered *passable* among the Peo-

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ple. Hereupon there was appointed an able and faithful *Committee* of Gentlemen, who Printed, from *Copper-Plates*, a just Number of *Bills*, and Florished, Indented, and Contrived them in such a manner, as to make it impossible to Counterfeit any of them, without a speedy Discovery of the *Counterfeit*: Besides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three* belonging to that *Committee*. These *Bills* being of several Sums, from *Two Shillings*, to *Ten Pounds*, did confess the *Massachuset-Colony* to be *Endebted* unto the Person, in whose Hands they were, the Sums therein expressed; and Provision was made, that if any *Particular Bills* were Irrecoverable Lost, or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might Be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in general*. The *Publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Soldiers*, now upon the point of Mutiny, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Justa negat!*) were in these *Bills* paid immediately: But that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they should be accepted by the Treasurer, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *Publick Payments*, at Five *per Cent.* more

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than the Value expressed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Act* would, in the space of Two Years at least, fetch into the Treasury as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted, would amount unto, were willing to be furnished with Bills, wherein 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*; and so the *Sailors* and *Soldiers* put off their *Bills*, instead of *Money*, to those with whom they had any Dealings, and they *Circulated* through all the Hands in the Colony pretty Comfortably. Had the *Government* been so settled, that there had not been any doubt of any Obstruction, or Diversion to be given to the Prosecution of the *Tax-Act*, by a *Total Change* of their Affairs then depending at *Whitehall*, 'tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than so much ready *Silver*; yea, the *Invention* had been of more use to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the Mountains of *Peru* had been removed into these Parts of *America*. The *Massachuset Bills of Credit* had been like the *Bank Bills* of *Venice*, where though there were not, perhaps, a *Ducat* of Money in the *Bank*, yet the *Bills*

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were esteemed more than Twenty *per Cent.* better than Money, among the Body of the People, in all their Dealings. But many People being afraid, that the Government would in half a Year be so overturned, as to Convert their *Bills of Credit* altogether into *Wast Paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they, who first received them, could make them yield little more than *Fourteen* or *Sixteen* Shillings in the Pound; from whence there arose those Idle *Suspensions* in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks concerning the use thereof, which, to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aside unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no less than save the Publick from a perfect Ruin: And e're many Months were expired, the Governour and Council had the Pleasure of seeing the *Treasurer* burn before their Eyes many a Thousand Pounds Worth of the *Bills*, which had passed about until they were again returned unto the Treasury; but before their being returned, had happily and honestly, without a Farthing of *Silver Coin*, discharged the *Debts*, for which

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they were intended. But that which helped these *Bills* unto much of their *Credit*, was the Generous Offer of many Worthy Men in *Boston*, to run the Risque of selling their *Goods* reasonably for them: And of these, I think I may say, that General *Phips* was in some sort the *Leader*; who at the very beginning, meerly to Recommend the *Credit* of the *Bills* unto other Persons, chearfully laid down a considerable quantity of *ready Money* for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time the Country waded through the Terrible *Debts* which it was fallen into: In this, though unhappy enough, yet not so unhappy as in the *Loss of Men*, by which the Country was at the same time consumed. 'Tis true, there was very *little Blood* spilt in the Attack made upon *Quebeck*; and there was a *Great Hand* of Heaven seen in it. The Churches, upon the Call of the Government, not only observed a General *Fast* through the Colony, for the Welfare of the Army sent unto *Quebeck*, but also kept the *Wheel of Prayer* in a *Continual Motion*, by Repeated and Successive Agreements, for Days of *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in their several Vicinities. On these Days the Fer-

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ventest Prayers were sent up to the *God of Armies*, for the Safety and Success of the *New-English Army* gone to *Canada*; and though I never understood that any of the Faithful did in their *Prayers* arise to any assurance that the Expedition should *prosper in all respects*, yet they sometimes in their Devotions on these Occasions, uttered their Perswasion, that Almighty God had heard them in *this* thing, *that the English Army should not fall by the Hands of the French Enemy*. Now they were marvellously delivered from doing so; though the Enemy had such unexpected Advantages over them, yea, and though the horrid *Winter* was come on so far, that it is a Wonder the *English Fleet*, then Riding in the River of *Canada*, fared any better than the Army which a while since besieged *Poland*, wherein, of *Seventy Thousand* Invaders, no less than *Forty Thousand* suddenly perished by the severity of the *Cold*, albeit it were but the Month of *November* with them. Nevertheless, a kind of *Camp-Fever*, as well as the *Small-Pox*, got into the Fleet, whereby some Hundreds came short of Home. And besides this Calamity, it was also to be lamented, that al-

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though the most of the Fleet arrived safe at *New-England*, whereof some Vessels indeed were driven off by Cross-Winds as far as the *West-Indies*, before such Arrival; yet there were Three or Four Vessels which totally miscarried: *One* was never heard of, a *Second* was Wreck'd, but most of the Men were saved by another in Company; a *third* was Wreck'd so, that all the Men were either starv'd, or drown'd, or slain by the *Indians*, except *one*, which a long while after was by means of the *French* restored: And a *fourth* met with Accidents, which, it may be, my Reader will by and by pronounce not unworthy to have been Related.

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Three-score Men aboard, was in a very stormy Night, *Octob.* 28. 1690. stranded upon the desolate and hideous Island of *Antecosta*, an Island in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the singular Mercy of God unto them, the Vessel did not, immediately, stave to pieces, which if it had happened, they must have, one way or another, quickly perished. There they lay for divers Days, under abun-

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dance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Vessel; and they solemnly set apart one Day for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, to obtain the Smiles of Heaven upon them in the midst of their Distresses; and this especially, That if they must go Ashoar, they might not, by any stress of Storm, lose the *Provisions* which they were to carry with them. They were at last convinced, that they must continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the Seventh of *November*, they applied themselves, all Hands, to get their *Provisions* Ashoar upon the dismal *Island*, where they had nothing but a sad and cold Winter before them; which being accomplished, their Vessel *overset* so, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the *Island* in it. Here they now built themselves Nine small *Chimney-less things* that they called *Houses*; to this purpose employing such *Boards* and *Planks* as they could get from their shattered Vessel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that squalid Wilderness had enough to serve them; and they built a particular *Store-House*, wherein they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Provisions*, which though

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scarce enough to serve a very abstemious Company for *one Month*, must now be so stinted, as to hold out *Six or Seven*; and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, *Two Biskets, half a pound of Pork, half a pound of Flower, one Pint and a quarter of Pease, and two Salt Fishes per Week*. This little Handful of Men were now a sort of *Commonwealth*, extraordinarily and miserably separated from all the rest of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia*: Wherefore they consulted and concluded such *Laws* among themselves, as they judged necessary to their subsistence, in the doleful Condition whereinto the *Providence* of God had cast them; now

——*Penitus toto divisos Orbe.*

They set up *Good Orders*, as well as they could, among themselves; and besides their daily Devotions, they Observed the *Lord's Days*, with more solemn Exercises of Religion.

But it was not long before they began to feel the more mortal effects of the Straits

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whereinto they had been Reduced: Their *short* Commons, their Drink of *Snow-Water*, their Hard, and Wet, and Smoaky *Lodgings*, and their Grievous *Despair of Mind*, overwhelmed some of them at such a rate, and so *ham-string'd* them, that sooner than be at the pains to go abroad, and cut their one Fuel, they would lye after a Sottish manner in the Cold; these things quickly brought *Sicknesses* among them. The first of their Number who Died was their *Doctor*, on the 20th of *December*; and then they dropt away, one after another, till between *Thirty* and *Forty* of the *Sixty* were buried by their disconsolate Friends, whereof every one look'd still to be the next that should lay his Bones in that Forsaken Region. These poor Men did therefore, on *Monday* the Twenty Seventh of *January*, keep a *Sacred Fast* (as they did, in some sort, a *Civil* one, every Day, all this while) to beseech of Almighty God, that his *Anger* might be turned from them, that he would not go on to cut them off in his *Anger*, that the Extremity of the Season might be mitigated, and that they might be prospered in some Essay to get Relief as the *Spring*

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should Advance upon them; and they took *Notice* that God gave them a Gracious Answer to every one of these Petitions.

But while the *Hand of God* was killing *so many* of this little *Nation* (and yet incapable to become a *Nation*, for it was, *Res unius Ætatis, populus virorum!*) they apprehended, that they must have been under a most uncomfortable Necessity to *kill* One of their Company.

Whatever *Penalties* they Enacted for other Crimes, there was One, for which, like that of *Parricide* among the Antients, they would have promised themselves, that there should not have been Occasion for any *Punishments*; and that was, the Crime of *Stealing* from the Common-Stock of their Provisions. Nevertheless they found their Store-House divers times broken open, and their *Provisions* therefrom *Stolen* by divers unnatural *Children* of the *Leviathan*, while it was not possible for them to preserve their feeble Store-House from the *Stone-Wall-breaking* Madness of these unreasonable Creatures. This Trade of *Stealing*, if it had not been stopp'd by some *exemplary Severity*, they must in a little while, by *Lot*

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or *Force*, have come to have *Canibally* devoured one another; for there was nothing to be done, either at *Fishing*, or *Fowling*, or *Hunting*, upon that Rueful Island, in the depth of a Frozen Winter; and though they sent as far as they could upon Discovery, they could not find on the Island any *Living thing* in the World, besides themselves. Wherefore, though by an *Act* they made *Stealing* to be so *Criminal*, that several did Run the *Gantlet* for it, yet they were not far from being driven, after all, to make one Degree and Instance of it *Capital*. There was a wicked *Irishman* among them, who had such a *Voracious Devil* in him, that after divers *Burglaries* upon the *Store-House*, committed by him, at last he *Stole*, and *Eat* with such a *Pamphagous Fury*, as to Cram himself with no less than *Eighteen Biskets* at one *Stolen Meal*, and he was fain to have his Belly strok'd and bath'd before the Fire, lest he should otherwise have burst. This Amazing, and indeed Murderous Villany of the *Irishman*, brought them all to their Wits Ends, how to defend themselves from the Ruin therein threatned unto them; and whatever *Methods* were proposed, it was

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feared that there could be no stop given to his *Furacious* Exorbitancies any way but *One*; he could not be past *Stealing*, unless he were past *Eating* too. Some think therefore they might have Sentenced the Wretch to Die, and after they had been at pains, upon Christian and Spiritual Accounts, to prepare him for it, have Executed the Sentence, by Shooting him to Death: Concluding Matters come to that pass, that if *they* had not Shot him, he must have *Starved* them unavoidably. Such an Action, if it were done, will doubtless meet with no harder a Censure, than that of the Seven *Englishmen*, who being in a Boat carried off to Sea from *St. Christopher's*, with but *one* Days Provision aboard for *Seventeen*, Singled out some of their Number by Lot, and Slew them, and Eat them; for which, when they were afterwards accused of *Murder*, the Court, in consideration of the *inevitable Necessity*, acquitted them. Truly the *inevitable Necessity* of *Starving*, without such an Action, sufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were!) by these poor *Antecostians*. And *Starved* indeed they must have been, for all

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this, if they had not Contrived and Performed a very desperate Adventure, which now remains to be Related. There was a very diminutive kind of Boat belonging to their *Brigantine*, which they recovered out of the Wreck, and cutting this Boat in Two, they made a shift, with certain odd Materials preserved among them, to lengthen it so far, that they could therein form a *little Cuddy*, where Two or Three men might be stowed, and they set up a *little Mast*, whereto they fastened a little Sail, and accommodated it with some other *little Circumstances*, according to their present poor Capacity.

On the Twenty Fifth of *March*, Five of the Company Shipped themselves upon this Doughty *Fly-Boat*, intending, if it were possible, to carry unto *Boston* the Tidings of their woful Plight upon *Antecosta*, and by help from their Friends there, to return with seasonable Succours for the rest. They had not Sail'd long before they were Hemm'd in by prodigious Cakes of Ice, whereby their Boat sometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a Miracle that it was not Crush'd into a *Thousand Pieces*, if indeed a *Thousand Pieces*

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could have been Splintred out of so minute a *Cock-Boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully Weather-beaten, among enormous Rands of Ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the Ribs of the strongest Frigot that ever cut the Seas; and yet the signal Hand of Heaven so preserved this petty Boat, that by the Eleventh of *April* they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an Anchor under Cape St. *Lawrence*, having seen Land but *once* before, and that about seven Leagues off, ever since their first setting out; and yet having seen the *open* and *Ocean Sea not so much as once* in all this while, for the Ice that still encompassed them. For their support in this Time, the little Provisions they brought with them would not have kept them alive; only they killed *Seale* upon the Ice, and they melted the upper part of the Ice for Drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *Sea-Horses*, would often so approach them upon the Ice, that the fear of being devoured by them was not the least of their Exercises. The Day following they weighed Anchor betimes in the Morning but the *Norwest Winds* persecuted them, with the

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raised and raging Waves of the Sea, which almost continually poured into them; and Monstrous Islands of Ice, that seemed almost as big as *Antecosta* it self, would ever now and then come athwart them. In such a Sea they lived by the special assistance of God, until, by the Thirteenth of *April*, they got into an Island of *Land*, where they made a Fire, and killed some Fowl, and some *Seale*, and found some *Goose-Eggs*, and supplied themselves with what Billets of Wood were necessary and carriageable for them; and there they stayed until the Seventeenth. Here their Boat lying near a Rock, a great Sea hove it upon the Rock, so that it was upon the very point of *oversetting*, which if it had, she had been utterly disabled for any further Service, and they must have called that Harbour by the Name, which, I think, one a little more *Northward* bears, *The Cape without Hope*. There they must have ended their weary Days! But here the good Hand of God again interposed for them; they got her off; and though they lost their *Compass* in this Hurry, they sufficiently Repaired another defective one that they had aboard. Sailing from thence,

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by the Twenty-fourth of *April*, they made Cape *Brittoon*; when a thick Fog threw them into a new Perplexity, until they were safely gotten into the Bay of *Islands*, where they again wooded, and watred, and killed a few Fowl, and catched some Fish, and began to reckon themselves as good as *half way home*. They reached *Cape Sables* by the Third of *May*, but by the Fifth all their Provision was again spent, and they were out of sight of Land; nor had they any prospect of catching any thing that lives in the *Atlantick*: which while they were lamenting one unto another, a stout *Halibut* comes up to the top of the Water, by their side; whereupon they threw out the Fishing-Line, and the Fish took the Hook; but he proved so heavy, that it required the help of several Hands to hale him in, and a *thankful Supper* they made on't. By the Seventh of *May* seeing no Land, but having once more spent all their Provision, they were grown almost wholly hopeless of Deliverance, but then a Fishing Shallop of *Cape Ann* came up with them, Fifteen Leagues to the Eastward of that Cape. And yet before they got in, they had so Tem-

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pestuous a Night, that they much feared perishing upon the Rocks after all : But God carried them into *Boston* Harbour the Ninth of *May*, unto the great surprize of their Friends that were in Mourning for them : And there furnishing themselves with a Vessel fit for their Undertaking, they took a Course in a few Weeks more to fetch home their Brethren that they left behind them at *Antecosta*.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir *William*!

§ 13. All this while *CANADA* was as much written upon Sir *William's* Heart, as *CALLICE*, they said once, was upon Queen *Mary's*. He needed not one to have been his daily Monitor about *Canada*: It lay down with him, it rose up with him, it engrossed almost all his thoughts ; he thought the subduing of *Canada* to be the greatest Service that could be done for *New-England*, or for the Crown of *England*, in *America*. In pursuance whereof, after he had been but a few Weeks at Home, he took another Voyage for *England* in the very depth of Winter, when Sailing was now dangerous ; conflicting with all the Diffi-

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culties of a tedious and a terrible Passage, in a very little Vessel, which indeed was like enough to have perished, if it had not been for the help of his generous Hand aboard, and *his Fortunes in the bottom.*

Arriving ——— *per tot Discrimina*, at *Bristol*, he hastned up to *London*; and made his Applications to their Majesties, and the Principal Ministers of State, for assistance to renew an Expedition against *Canada*, concluding his Representation to the King with such Words as these :

‘If Your Majesty shall graciously please to
‘Commission and Assist me, I am ready to
‘venture my Life again in your Service. And
‘I doubt not, but by the Blessing of God,
‘*Canada* may be added unto the rest of your
‘Dominions, which will (all Circumstances
‘considered) be of more Advantage to the
‘Crown of *England*, than all the Territories
‘in the *West-Indies* are.

*The Reasons here subjoined, are humbly
Offered unto Your Majesties
Consideration.*

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'*First*, The Success of this Design will
'greatly add to the Glory and Interest of the
'*English* Crown and Nation; by the Addition
'of the *Bever-Trade*, and Securing the *Hud-*
'*son's Bay* Company, some of whose *Factories*
'have lately fallen into the Hands of the
'*French*; and increase of *English* Shipping
'and Seamen, by gaining the Fishery of *New-*
'*foundland*; and by consequence diminish the
'number of *French* Seamen, and cut off a great
'Revenue from the *French* Crown.

'*Secondly*, The Cause of the *English* in
'*New-England*, their failing in the late At-
'tempt upon *Canada*, was their waiting for a
'Supply of *Ammunition* from *England* until
'*August*; their long Passage up that River;
'the *Cold Season* coming on, and the *Small-*
'*Pox* and *Fevers* being in the Army and Fleet,
'so that they could not stay Fourteen Days
'longer; in which time probably they might
'have taken *Quebeck*; yet, if a few Frigots be
'speedily sent, they doubt not of an happy
'Success; the Strength of the *French* being
'small, and the *Planters* desirous to be under
'the *English* Government.

'*Thirdly*, The *Jesuites* endeavour to seduce

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‘the *Maqua’s*, and other *Indians* (as is by them ‘affirmed) suggesting the Greatness of King *Lewis*, and the Inability of King *William*, to ‘do any thing against the *French* in those ‘Parts, thereby to engage them in their In- ‘terests: In which, if they should succeed, not ‘only *New-England*, but all our *American* ‘Plantations, would be endangered by the ‘great increase of Shipping, for the *French* ‘(built in *New-England* at easie rates) to the ‘Infinite Dishonour and Prejudice of the *Eng- ‘lish* Nation.

But now, for the Success of these Applica- tions, I must entreat the Patience of my Read- er to wait until we have gone through a little more of our History.

§ 14. The Reverend *INCREASE MATHER* beholding his Country of *New-England* in a very Deplorable Condition, under a Governour that acted by an Illegal, Arbitrary, Treasonable Commission, and Invaded *Liberty* and *Property* after such a manner, as that no Man could say any thing was *his own*, he did, with the Encouragement of the Prin- cipal Gentlemen in the Country, but not with-

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out much Trouble and Hazard unto his own Person, go over to *Whitehall* in the Summer of the Year 1688. and wait upon King *James*, with a full *Representation* of their Miseries. That King did give him Liberty of *Access* unto him, whenever he desired it, and with many *Good Words* promised him to relieve the Oppressed People in many *Instances* that were proposed: But when the *Revolution* had brought the Prince and Princess of *Orange* to the Throne, Mr. *Mather* having the Honour divers times to wait upon the King, he still prayed for no less a Favour to *New-England*, than the full Restoration of their *Charter-Priviledges*: And Sir *William Phips* happening to be then in *England*, very generously joined with Mr. *Mather* in some of those Addresses: Whereunto His Majesty's Answers were always very expressive of his Gracious Inclinations. Mr. *Mather*, herein assisted also by the Right Worshipful Sir *Henry Ashurst*, a most Hearty Friend of all such good Men as those that once filled *New-England*, solicited the Leading Men of both Houses in the Convention-Parliament, until a Bill for the Restoring of the Charters belonging to *New-England*,

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was fully passed by the Commons of *England*; but that Parliament being Preregu'd, and then Dissolved, all that *Sisyphæan* Labour came to nothing. The Disappointments which afterwards most wonderfully blasted all the hopes of the Petitioned Restoration, obliged Mr. *Mather*, not without the Concurrence of other Agents, now also come from *New-England*, unto that Method of Petitioning the King for a *New* Charter, that should contain more than all the Priviledges of the *Old*; and Sir *William Phips*, now being again returned into *England*, lent his utmost assistance hereunto.

The King taking a Voyage for *Holland* before this Petition was answered; Mr. *Mather*, in the mean while, not only waited upon the greatest part of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, offering them a Paper of *Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter-Priviledges granted unto the Massachuset-Colony*; but also having the Honour to be introduc'd unto the Queen, he assured Her Majesty, that there were none in the World better affected unto their Majesties Government than the People of *New-England*, who had indeed been exposed unto great

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Hardships for their being so; and entreated, that since the King had referred the *New-English* Affair unto the Two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us what they thought was reasonable. Whereto the Queen replied, That the Request was reasonable; and that she had spoken divers times to the King on the behalf of *New-England*; and that for her own part, she desired that the People there might not meerly have Justice, but *Favour* done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. *Mather*, being by the Duke of *Devonshire* brought into the King's Presence on *April* 28. 1691. humbly pray'd His Majesties Favour to *New-England*; urging, That if their Old Charter-Priviledges might be restored unto them, his *Name* would be great in those Parts of the World as long as the World should stand; adding,

Sir,

YOUR Subjects there have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge your Dominions; the Expedition to Canada was a Great and Noble Undertaking.

May it please your Majesty, in your great Wisdom also to consider the Circumstances of that People, as in your Wisdom you have considered the Circumstances of England, and of Scotland. In New-England they differ from other Plantations; they are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governour will not suit with the People of New-England, as may be very proper for other English Plantations.

Two Days after this, the King, upon what was proposed by certain Lords, was very inquisitive, whether he might, without breach of Law, set a Governour over *New-England*; whereto the Lord Chief Justice, and some others of the Council, answered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, inasmuch as the *Charter* of *New-England* stood vacated by a Judgment against them, it was in the King's Power to put them under what *Form*

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of Government he should think best for them.

The King then said, 'That he believed it 'would be for the Advantage of the People in 'that Colony, to be under a Governour appointed by himself : Nevertheless (because of 'what Mr. *Mather* had spoken to him) 'He 'would have the Agents of *New-England* 'nominate a Person that should be agreeable 'unto the Inclinations of the People there ; and 'notwithstanding this, he would have Charter-Priviledges restored and confirmed unto 'them.

The Day following the King began another Voyage to *Holland* ; and when the Attorney General's Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be His Majesties Mind, as expressed in Council, was presented at the *Council-Board*, on the Eighth of *June*, some Objections then made, procured an Order to prepare *Minutes* for another Draught, which deprived the *New-Englanders* of several *Essential Priviledges* in their other Charter. Mr. *Mather* put in his Objections, and vehemently protested, That he would sooner part with his *Life*, than consent unto those *Minutes*, or any thing else that should infringe any Liberty or

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Privilege of Right belonging unto his Country; but he was answered, That the Agents of *New-England* were not *Plenipotentiaries* from another Sovereign State; and that if they would not submit unto the King's Pleasure in the Settlement of the Country, they must *take what would follow*.

The dissatisfactory *Minutes* were, by Mr. *Mather's* Industry, sent over unto the King in *Flanders*; and the Ministers of State then with the King were earnestly applied unto, that every mistake about the good Settlement of *New-England* might be prevented; and the Queen her self, with her own Royal Hand, wrote unto the King, that the Charter of *New-England* might either pass as it was drawn by the Attorney General, or be deferred until his own Return.

But after all, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State received a Signification of the King's Pleasure, that the Charter of *New-England* should run in the Main Points of it as it was now granted: Only there were several Important Articles which Mr. *Mather* by his unwearied Solicitations obtained afterwards to be inserted.

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There were some now of the Opinion, that instead of submitting to this New Settlement, they should, in hopes of getting a Reversion of the Judgment against the Old Charter, declare to the Ministers of State, That they had rather have no Charter at all, than such an one as was now proposed unto Acceptance. But Mr. *Mather* advising with many unprejudiced Persons, and Men of the greatest Abilities in the Kingdom, *Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines* and *Lawyers*, they all agreed, that it was not only a lawful, but all Circumstances then considered, a Needful thing, and a part of Duty and Wisdom to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory refusal would not only bring an Inconveniency, but a Fatal, and perhaps, a Final Ruin upon the Country; whereof Mankind would lay the blame upon the Agents.

It was argued, That such a Submission was no Surrender of any thing; that the Judgment, not in the Court of King's *Bench*, but in *Chancery* against the Old Charter, standing on Record, the Pattern was thereby Annihilated; that all attempts to have the Judgment against

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the Old Charter taken off, would be altogether in vain, as Men and Things were then disposed.

It was further argued, That the Ancient Charter of *New-England* was in the Opinion of the Lawyers very Defective, as to several *Powers*, which yet were absolutely necessary to the subsistence of the Plantation: It gave the Government there no more Power than the Corporations have in *England*; Power in Capital Cases was not therein particularly expressed.

It mentioned not an *House of Deputies*, or an *Assembly of Representatives*; the Governour and Company had thereby (they said) no Power to impose Taxes on the Inhabitants that were not Freemen, or to erect Courts of Admiralty. Without such Powers the Colony could not subsist; and yet the best Friends that *New-England* had of Persons most Learned in the Law, professed, that suppose the judgment against the *Massachuset-Charter* might be Reversed, yet, if they should again Exert such Powers as they did before the *Quo Warranto* against their Charter, a

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new Writ of *Scire Facias* would undoubtedly be issued out against them.

It was yet further argued, That if an Act of Parliament should have Reversed the Judgment against the *Massachuset-Charter*, without a Grant of some other Advantages, the whole Territory had been, on many Accounts, very miserably Incommoded: The Province of *Main*, with *Hampshire*, would have been taken from them; and *Plymouth* would have been annexed unto *New-York*; so that this Colony would have been squeezed into an *Atom*, and not only have been render'd *Insignificant* in its Trade, but by having its Militia also, which was vested in the King, taken away, its *Insignificancies* would have become out of measure humbling; whereas now, instead of seeing any Relief by Act of Parliament, they would have been put under a Governour, with a Commission, whereby ill Men, and the King's and Country's Enemies might probably have crept into Opportunities to have done Ten Thousand ill things, and have treated the best Men in the Land after a very uncomfortable manner.

It was lastly argued, That by the New

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Charter very great Priviledges were granted unto *New-England*; and in some respects greater than what they formerly enjoyed. The *Colony* is now made a *Province*, and their General Court, has, with the King's Approbation, as much Power in *New-England*, as the King and Parliament have in *England*. They have all *English* Liberties, and can be touched by no Law, by no Tax, but of their own making. All the Liberties of their Holy Religion are for ever secured, and their Titles to their Lands, once for want of some Forms of Legal Conveyance, contested, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill Governour should happen to be imposed on them, what hurt could he do to them? None, except they themselves pleased; for he cannot make one Counsellor, or one Judge, or one Justice, or one Sheriff to serve his Turn: Disadvantages enough, one would think, to Discourage any ill Governour from desiring to be Stationed in those uneasie Regions. The People have a Negative upon all the Executive Part of the Civil Government, as well as the Legislative, which is a vast Priviledge, enjoyed by no other Plantation in *America*, nor by *Ireland*, no, nor

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hitherto by *England* it self. Why should all of this good be refused or despised, because of somewhat not so good attending it? The Despisers of so much good, will certainly deserve a Censure, not unlike that of *Causabon*, upon some who did not value what that Learned Man counted highly valuable, *Vix illis optari quidquam peius potest, quam ut fatuitate sua fruantur*: Much good may do them with their Madness! All of this being well considered, Sir *William Phips*, who had made so many Addresses for the Restoration of the Old Charter, under which he had seen his Country many Years flourishing, will be excused by all the World from any thing of a Fault, in a most unexpected passage of his Life, which is now to be related.

Sir *Henry Ashurst*, and Mr. *Mather*, well knowing the agreeable Disposition to do Good, and the King and his Country Service, which was in Sir *William Phips*, whom they now had with them, all this while Prosecuting his Design for *Canada*, they did unto the Council-Board nominate *him* for the GOVERNOUR of *New-England*. And Mr. *Mather* being by the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced unto His Majesty, said,

Sir,

I Do, in the behalf of New-England, most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased, by a Charter, to restore English Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their Properties, and to grant them some peculiar Priviledges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there will demean themselves with that dutiful Affection and Loyalty to your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your Royal Favours towards them. And I do most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased to give leave

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unto those that are concerned for New-England to nominate their Governour.

Sir William Phips has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board. He hath done a good Service for the Crown, by enlarging your Dominions, and reducing of Nova Scotia to your Obedience. I know that he will faithfully serve your Majesty to the utmost of his Capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a further Obligation on your Subjects there.

The Effects of all this was, that Sir *William Phips* was now invested with a Commission under the King's Broad-Seal to be *Captain General, and Governour in Chief* over the Province of the *Massachuset-Bay* in *New-England*: Nor do I know a Person in the World that could have been proposed more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout *New-England*, and on that score more likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there, under the Changes in some things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a *Gideon*, who had more

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than once ventured his Life to save his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with universal Satisfaction said, *Thou shalt rule over us*. Accordingly, having with Mr. Mather kissed the King's Hand on *January 3d*, 1691. he hastned away to his Government; and arriving at *New-England* the Fourteenth of *May* following, attended with the *Non-such-Frigat*, both of them were welcomed with the loud Acclamations of the long *shaken* and *shatter'd* Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement so full of happy Priviledges.

§ 15. When *Titus Flaminus* had freed the poor *Grecians* from the Bondage which had long oppressed them, and the Herald Proclaimed among them the Articles of their Freedom, they cried out, *A Saviour! A Saviour!* with such loud Acclamations, that the very *Birds* fell down from Heaven astonish'd at the Cry. Truly, when Mr. Mather brought with him unto the poor *New-Englanders*, not only a *Charter*, which though in divers Points wanting what both *he* and *they* had wished for, yet for ever delivers them from Oppres-

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sions on their *Christian* and *English* Liberties, or on their Ancient Possessions, wherein ruining *Writs of Intrusion* had begun to Invade them all, but also a GOVERNOUR who might call *New-England* his own *Country*, and who was above most Men in it, full of Affection to the Interests of *his Country*; the sensible part of the People then caused the Sence of the *Salvations* thus brought them to reach as far as *Heaven* it self. The various little Humours then working among the People, did not hinder the *Great and General Court* of the Province to appoint a Day of Solemn *THANKSGIVING* to Almighty God, for *Granting* (as the Printed Order expressed it) *a safe Arrival to his Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the Service of this People, and have brought over with them a Settlement of Government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing Marks of their Royal Favour and Goodness.*

And as the obliged People thus gave *Thanks* unto the God of Heaven, so they sent an Ad-

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dress of *Thanks* unto Their Majesties, with other Letters of *Thanks* unto some Chief Ministers of State, for the *Favourable Aspect* herein cast upon the Province.

Nor were the People mistaken, when they promised themselves all the kindness imaginable from this *Governour*, and expected, *Under his shadow we shall live easie among the Heathen*: Why might they not look for *Halcyon-days*, when they had such a *King's-Fisher*, for their *Governour*?

Governour Phips had, as every raised and useful Person must have, his *Envious Enemies*; but the palest Envy of them, who turned their worst Enmity upon him, could not hinder them from confessing, *That according to the best of his Apprehension, he ever sought the good of his Country*: His Country quickly felt this on innumerable Occasions; and they had it eminently demonstrated, as well in his promoting and approving the Council's choice of good *Judges, Justices* and *Sheriffs*, which being once established, no *Successor* could remove them, as in his urging the *General Assembly* to make themselves happy by preparing a Body of good Laws as fast as they could,

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which being passed by him in his time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often speak to the Members of the general Assembly in such Terms as these, *Gentlemen, You may make your selves as easie as you will for ever; consider what may have any tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure, that whatever Bills you offer to me, consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Crown, I'll pass them readily; I do but seek Opportunities to serve you; had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted the Government of this Province; and whenever you have settled such a Body of good Laws, that no Person coming after me may make you uneasie, I shall desire not one Day longer to continue in the Government.* Accordingly he ever passed every Act for the welfare of the Province proposed unto him; and instead of ever putting them upon Buying his Assent unto any good Act, he was much forwarder to give it, than they were to ask it: Nor indeed, had the *Hunger of a Salary* any such Impression upon him, as to make him decline doing all possible Service for the Publick, while he was not sure of having any

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Proportionable or Honourable Acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the Preservation of the King's Rights with as careful and faithful a Zeal as became a good Steward for the Crown: And, indeed, he studied nothing more than to observe such a Temper in all things, as to extinguish what others have gone to distinguish; even the Pernicious Notion of a separate Interest. There was a time when the *Roman* Empire was infested with a vast number of Governours, who were Infamous for Infinite Avarice and Villany; and referring to this time, the Apostle *John* had a Vision of *People killed with the Beasts of the Earth*.

But Sir *William Phips* was none of those Governours; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedness was the Happiness of *New-England*, when they had Governour *Phips*, using the tenderness of a Father towards the People; and being of the Opinion, *Ditare magis esse Regium quam Ditescere*, that it was a braver thing to enrich the People, than to grow rich himself. A *Father*, I said; and what if I had said an *Angel* too? If I should from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from *Theodoret*, and

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from *Jerom*, and and [*sic*] others among the Ancients, as well as from *Calvin*, and *Bucan*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Chemnitius*, and *Bullinger*, and a Thousand more among the *Moderns*, bring Authorities for the Assertion, *That each Country and Province is under the special Care of some Angel, by a singular Deputation of Heaven assigned thereunto*, I could back them with a far greater Authority than any of them all. The Scripture it self does plainly assert it: And hence the most Learned *Grotius*, writing of *Commonwealths*, has a Passage to this purpose, *His singulis, suos Attributos, esse Angelos, ex Daniele, magno consensu, & Judæi & Christiani veteres colligebant.*

But *New-England* had now, besides the *Guardian-Angel*, who more invisibly intended its welfare, a *Governour* that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole Imitation of such a *Guardian-Angel*. He employed his whole Strength to guard his People from all Disasters, which threatned them either by Sea or Land; and it was remark'd, that nothing remarkably Disastrous did befall that People from the time of his Arrival to

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the Government, until there arrived an Order for his leaving it: (Except one thing which was begun before he entred upon the Government:) But instead thereof, the *Indians* were notably defeated in the Assaults which they now made upon the *English*, and several *French* Ships did also very advantageously fall into his Hands; yea, there was by his means a Peace restored unto the Province, that had been divers Years languishing under the Hectic Feaver of a lingring War.

And there was this one thing more that rendred his Government the more desirable; that whereas 'tis impossible for a meer Man to govern without some *Error*; whenever this Governour was advised of any Error in any of his Administrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it with all possible Ingenuity; so that if any occasion of just Complaint arose, it was usually his endeavour that it should not long be complain'd of.

—————*O, Fælices nimium, sua si Bona, norant, Nov-Angli*—————

But having in a *Parenthesis* newly intimated, that his Excellency, when he entred

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on his Government found one thing that was *remarkably Disastrous* begun upon it: Of that one thing we will now give some account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious Matters as can be put into any History! And let him, that writes the next *Thaumatographia Pneumatica*, allow to these Prodigies the chief place among the Wonders.

§ 16. About the time of our Blessed Lord's coming to reside on Earth, we read of so many *possessed with Devils*, that it is commonly thought the *Number* of such miserable *Energumens* was then encreased above what has been usual in other Ages; and the *Reason* of that Increase has been made a Matter of some Enquiry. Now though the *Devils* might herein design by *Preternatural Operations* to blast the *Miracles* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which point they gained among the Blasphemous *Pharisees*; and the *Devils* might herein also design a Villanous *Imitation* of what was coming to pass in the *Incarnation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein *God* came to *dwell in Flesh*; yet I am not without suspicion, that there may be something further

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in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who says, It was *Quod judæi præter modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Dæmonem Advocaverint*, the *Jews*, by the frequent use of *Magical Tricks*, called in the *Devils* among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of *Sorceries*, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parchments* with Words upon them, which were their common *Amulets*, and of the *Charms* which they mutter'd over *Wounds*, and of the various *Enchantments* which they used against all sorts of Disasters whatsoever. It is affirmed in the *Talmuds*, that no less than Twenty-four Scholars in one School were killed by *Witchcraft*; and that no less than *Fourscore* Persons were Hanged for *Witchcraft* by one Judge in one Day. The *Gloss* adds upon it, *That the Women of Israel had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts*; and therefore it was required, that there should be still chosen into the Council one skilful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to discover who might

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be guilty of those *Black Arts* among such as were accused before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir *William Phips* to the Government of *New-England*, was at a time when a Governour would have had Occasion for all the Skill in *Sorcery*, that was ever necessary to a *Jewish Councillor*; a time when Scores of poor People had newly fallen under a prodigious *Possession of Devils*, which it was then generally thought had been by *Witchcrafts* introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of *New-England*, and Young People especially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God*; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practise detestable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keys*, and *Pease*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-shoes*, and other Implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stoln into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not set upon that Fortune-Telling Wheel,

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which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of *R. B.* has promised in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an *honest and pleasant Recreation*: And by these Books, the Minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *Finer Witchcraft*, until, 'tis well, if some of them were not betray'd into what is Grosser, and more Sensible and Capital. Although these *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole World*, than they are in the Country of *New-England*, yet, that being a Country Devoted unto the Worship and Service of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* above the *rest of the World*, *He* signalized his Vengeance against these Wickednesses, with such extraordinary Dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.

The *Devils* which had been so play'd withal, and, it may be, by some few Criminals more Explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the Country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some Scores of People, first about *Salem*, the Centre and First-Born of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in several other places, were

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Arrested with many *Preternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were evidently inflicted from the *Dæmons*, of the *Invisible World*. The People that were *Infected* and *Infested* with such *Dæmons*, in a few Days time arrived unto such a *Refining Alteration* upon their Eyes, that they could see their Tormentors; they saw a *Devil* of a Little *Stature*, and of a Tawny *Colour*, attended still with *Spectres* that appeared in more Humane Circumstances.

These *Tormentors* tendred unto the afflicted a *Book*, requiring them to *Sign* it, or to *Touch* it at least, in token of their consenting to be Lifted in the Service of the *Devil*; which they refusing to do, the *Spectres* under the Command of that *Blackman*, as they called him, would apply themselves to Torture them with prodigious Molestations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly *Distorted* and *Convulsed*; they were *Pinched* Black and Blue: *Pins* would be run every where in their Flesh; they would be *Scalded* until they had *Blisters* raised on them; and a Thousand other things before Hundreds of

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Witnesses were done unto them, evidently *Preternatural*: For if it were *Preternatural* to keep a rigid *Fast* for *Nine*, yea, for *Fifteen* Days together; or if it were *Preternatural* to have one's Hands *ty'd* close together with a *Rope* to be plainly seen, and then by *unseen Hands* presently pull'd up a great way from the Earth before a Croud of People; such *Preternatural* things were endured by them.

But of all the *Preternatural* things which befel these People, there were none more *unaccountable* than those, wherein the prestigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporeal* things in the World with a *Fascinating Mist* of *Invisibility*. As now; a Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body else in the room could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At last, in her Agonies, giving a snatch at the *Spectre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*; which when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the *Dæmons* taken away to do farther Mischief.

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Again, a Person was haunted by a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her, though seen to none but her self. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, she gave a violent *Snatch* at the *Sheet* that was upon it; where-from she tore a Corner, which in her Hand immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable Corner of a *Sheet*: And her Father, which was now holding of her, *catch'd*, that he might *keep* what his Daughter had so strangely seized; but the *Spectre* had like to have wrung his Hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him: However he still held it; and several times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the *Oaths* of good credible People to these particulars.

Also, it is well known, that these wicked *Spectres* did proceed so far as to steal several Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money was dropt sometimes out of the Air, before sufficient *Spectators*, into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the *Spectres* were urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. Moreover, *Poisons* to

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the Standers-by, wholly *Invisible*, were sometimes forced upon the Afflicted; which when they have with much Reluctancy swallowed, they have *swoln* presently, so that the common Medicines for *Poisons* have been found necessary to relieve them: Yea, sometimes the *Spectres* in the *struggles* have so dropt the *Poisons*, that the Standers-by have smelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the *Pillows* of the miserable stained with them.

Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of *burning Rags* run into their forcibly distended *Mouths*; and though no Body could see any such *Clothes*, or indeed *any Fires* in the Chambers, yet presently the *scalds* were seen plainly by every Body on the *Mouths* of the Complainers. and not only the *Smell*, but the *Smoke* of the Burning sensibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the *Hearth* to mark them; now though the Standers-by could see no *Irons*, yet they could see distinctly the *Print* of them in the *Ashes*, and *Smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen Furies*, unto the Poor Creatures for

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whom they were intended; and those Poor Creatures were thereupon so *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *Marks* of them to their Dying Day. Nor are these the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of *New-England*.

Flashy People may *Burlesque* these Things, but when Hundreds of the most sober People in a Country, where they have as much *Mother-Wit* certainly as the rest of Mankind, know them to be *True*, nothing but the absurd and froward Spirit of *Sadducism* can Question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one Thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the *Oaths* of more considerate Persons than any that can ridicule these odd *Phænomena*.

But the worst part of this astonishing *Tragedy* is yet behind; wherein Sir *William Phips*, at last being dropt, as it were from the *Machin of Heaven*, was an Instrument of easing the Distresses of the Land, now *so darkned by the Wrath of the Lord of Hosts*. There were very worthy Men upon the Spot where the *assault from Hell* was first made, who apprehended themselves call'd from the

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God of Heaven, to sift the business unto the bottom of it; and indeed, the continual *Impressions*, which the outcries and the havocks of the *afflicted People* that lived nigh unto them caused on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehension.

The Persons were Men eminent for *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, and they went about their enquiry into the matter, as *driven* unto it by a *Conscience* of Duty to God and the World. They did in the first Place take it for granted, that there are *Witches*, or wicked Children of Men, who upon *Covenanting* with, and *Commissioning* of *Evil Spirits*, are attended by their Ministry to accomplish the things desired of them: To satisfie them in which Perswasion, they had not only the *Assertions* of the *Holy Scripture*; Assertions, which the *Witch-Advocates* cannot evade without Shifts, too foolish for any *Prudent*, or too profane for any *Honest* Man to use; and they had not only the well-attested *Relations* of the gravest Authors from *Bodin* to *Bovet*, and from *Binsfeld* to *Bromhal* and *Baxter*; to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the Chronicles of all Nations into Romances

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of *Don Quixot* and the *Seven Champions*; but they had also an *Ocular Demonstration* in one, who a little before had been executed for *Witchcraft*, when *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; was the Chief Judge. There was one whose *Magical Images* were found, and who *confessing her Deeds*, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her *Compos Mentis*) actually shewed the whole Court, by what *Ceremonies* used unto them, she directed her *Familiar Spirits* how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again before the whole Court, the *Effect* followed exactly in the Hurts done to People at a distance from her. The Existence of such *Witches* was now taken for granted by those good Men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable Men have thought *they ran well*; and they soon received the *Confessions* of some *accused* Persons to confirm them in it; but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought they *went out of the Way*. The Afflicted People vehemently accused several Persons in several Places, that the *Spectres* which afflicted them, did exactly re-

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semble *them*; until the Importunity of the Accusations did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the *accused* came upon their Examination, it was found, that the *Dæmons* then a thousand ways abusing of the poor *afflicted* People, had with a marvellous exactness *represented* them; yea, it was found, that many of the *accused*, but casting their Eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their Faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lye in a sort of a Swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the *accused* came to touch them, and *then* they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of *natural Actions*, done by many of the *accused* in or to their own Bodies, as *Leaning, Bending, Turning* Awry, or *Squeezing* their Hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things *preternaturally* done upon the Bodies of the *afflicted*, though they were so far asunder, that the *afflicted* could not at all observe the *accused*.

It was also found, that the Flesh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at such a rate, that

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not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Flesh*, but the very *Slaver* of Spittle too: And there would appear just such a *set of Teeth* as was in the *accused*, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other Peoples. And usually the *afflicted* went through a terrible deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and must be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments* to give in their Testimonies.

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Person* to come under such a *Spectral Representation*; and that a concurrence of so many Circumstances would prove an *accused Person* to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Dæmons* thus afflicting of the Neighbours; they judged, that except these things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would scarce be possible ever to *Convict* a *Witch*; and they had some *Philosophical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner wherein *Magical Poisons* operate, which further supported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *accused Persons* were brought

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unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges* and the *Juries*, and perhaps the most of the People in the Country, then mostly Suffering; and though against some of them that were Tried there came in so much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts that some of the most *Judicious*, and yet *Vehement* Opposers of the Notions then in Vogue, publicly declared, *Had they themselves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheless, divers were Condemned, against whom the *chief Evidence* was founded in the *Spectral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that some of the *Accused* coming to confess themselves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more seen by any of the *afflicted*, though the Confession had been kept never so Secret, but instead thereof the *Accused* themselves became in all Vexations just like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to Act upon it, was, that the *Afflicted* were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Ghosts* at the same time that the *Spectres*

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of the supposed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghosts* always cast the Beholders into far more Consternation than any of the *Spectres*; and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other Violences of the Persons represented in the *Spectres*. Once or Twice these Apparitions were seen by others at the very same time that they shew'd themselves to the *afflicted*; and seldom were they seen at all, but when something unusual and suspicious had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *afflicted* People many times had never heard any thing before of the Persons appearing in *Ghost*, or of the Persons accused by the *Apparitions*; and yet the accused upon Examination have confessed the Murders of those very Persons, though these *accused* also knew nothing of the *Apparitions* that had come in against them; and the *afflicted* Persons likewise, without any private Agreement or Collusion, when successively brought into a Room, have all asserted the same *Apparitions* to be there before them: These *Murders* did seem to call for an Enquiry.

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On the other Part, there were many Persons of great Judgment, Piety and Experience, who from the beginning were very much dissatisfied at these Proceedings; they feared lest the *Devil* would get so far into the *Faith* of the People, that for the sake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come at length to believe all his *Lies*, whereupon what a Desolation of *Names*, yea, and of *Lives* also, would ensue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to Prognosticate; and they feared, lest in such an extraordinary Descent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places* upon us, there might such *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cause the *Righteous to perish with the Wicked*, and procure the Blood-shed of Persons like the *Gibeonites*, whom some learned Men suppose to be under a false Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be for *guiltless Persons* to come under such unaccountable Circumstances, as were on so many of the Accused, they held *some things there are, which if suffered to be Common, would subvert Gov-*

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ernment, and Disband and Ruin Humane Society, yet God sometimes may suffer such Things to evene, that we may know thereby how much we are beholden to him for that restraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would else reduce a World into a Chaos. They had already known of one at the Town of Groton hideously agitated by Devils, who in her Fits cried out much against a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature were never so shut, she yet manifested a violent Sense of her approach: But when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earnestly with and for this Creature, then instead of crying out against her any more, she owned, that she had in all been deluded by the Devil. They now saw, that the more the Afflicted were Hearned unto, the more the number of the Accused encreased; until at last many scores were cried out upon, and among them, some, who by the Unblameableness, yea, and Serviceableness of their whole Conversation, had obtained the Just Reputation of Good People among all that were acquainted with them.

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The Character of the *Afflicted* likewise added unto the common Distaste; for though some of *them* too were *Good People*, yet others of them, and such of them as were most Flippent at *Accusing*, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful *Ferment*, and wise Men foresaw a long Train of Dismal and Bloody Consequences. Hereupon they first advised, that the *afflicted* might be kept asunder in the closest Privacy; and one particular Person (whom I have cause to know) in pursuance of this Advice, offered himself singly to provide Accommodations for any *six* of them, that so the Success of more than ordinary *Prayer* with *Fasting*, might, with *Patience*, be *experienced*, before any other Courses were taken.

And Sir *William Phips* arriving to his Government, after this *ensnaring horrible Storm* was begun, did consult the neighbouring Ministers of the Province, who made unto his Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up at their desire by Mr. *Mather* the Younger, as I have been inform'd) wherein they declared.

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We judge, that in the Prosecution of these and all such Witchcrafts, there is need of a very Critical and Exquisite Caution: Lest by too much Credulity for things received only upon the Devil's Authority, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miserable Consequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us; for we should not be Ignorant of his Devices.

As in complaints upon Witchcrafts, there may be Matters of Enquiry, which do not amount unto Matters of Presumption; and there may be Matters of Presumption, which yet may not be reckoned Matters of Conviction; so 'tis necessary that all Proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding Tenderness towards those that may be complained of; especially if they have been Persons formerly of an unblemished Reputation.

When the first Enquiry is made into the Circumstances of such as may lye under any just Suspicion of Witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such Noise, Company, and Openness, as may too hastily expose them that are Examined; and that there may nothing be used as a Test for the Trial of the Suspected, the

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lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the People of God: But that the Directions given by such judicious Writers as Perkins and Bernard, be consulted in such a Case.

Presumptions, whereupon Persons may be committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Persons may be condemned as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable, than barely the accused Persons being represented by a Spectre to the afflicted: Inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious Thing, that a Dæmon may, by God's Permission, appear even to ill Purposes in the shape of an Innocent, yea, and a Virtuous Man: Nor can we esteem Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a look or touch of the accused, to be infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's Legerdemains.

We know not whether some remarkable Affronts given to the Devils, by our disbelieving of those Testimonies whose whole Force and Strength is from them alone, may not put a Period unto the Progress of a dreadful Calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many Persons, whereof, we hope,

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some are yet clear from the great Transgression laid unto their Charge.

The Ministers of the Province also being Jealous lest this *Counsel* should not be duly followed, requested the President of *Harvard-Colledge* to Compose and Publish (which he did) some *Cases of Conscience* referring to these Difficulties: In which Treatise he did, with Demonstrations of incomparable *Reason* and *Reading*, evince it, that *Satan* may appear in the Shape of an *Innocent* and a *Virtuous* Person, to afflict those that suffer by the *Diabolical Molestations*: And that the *Ordeal* of the *Sight*, and the *Touch*, is not a Conviction of a *Covenant* with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions against the *Lawfulness*, as well as the *Evidence* of it: And that either a Free and Fair *Confession* of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Persons proving such Things against the Person accused, as none but such as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is necessary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

*Cum misit Natura Feras, & Monstra per
Orbem,*

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Misit & Alciden qui Fera Monstra domet.

The *Dutch* and *French* Ministers in the Province of *New York*, having likewise about the same time their Judgment asked by the *Chief Judge* of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of *New-England*, they gave it in under their Hands, that if we believe no *Venefick Witchcraft*, we must Renounce the *Scripture* of God, and the *Consent* of almost all the World; but that yet the *Apparition* of a Person afflicting another, is a very Insufficient Proof of a *Witch*; nor is it Inconsistent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over Men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the *Shape* of *Good Men*; and that a *Good Name*, obtained by a *Good Life*, should not be Lost by Meer *Spectral Accusations*.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of these things, his Excellency first *Reprieved*, and then *Pardoned* many of them that had been Condemned; and there fell out several strange things that caused the Spirit of the Country to run as vehemently upon the *Acquitting* of all the *accused*, as it by mistake ran at first

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upon the *Condemning* of them. Some that had been zealously of the Mind, that the *Devils* could not in the *Shapes* of good Men afflict other Men, were terribly Confuted, by having their own *Shapes*, and the *Shapes* of their most intimate and valued Friends, thus abused. And though more than twice Twenty had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrollable Confessions, that if they were all *Sham*, there was therein the greatest Violation made by the Efficacy of the *Invisible World*, upon the *Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs*, that was ever seen since *God made Man upon the Earth*, yet they did so recede from their *Confessions*, that it was very clear, some of them had been hitherto, in a sort of a *Præternatural Dream*, wherein they had said *of themselves*, they *knew not what themselves*.

In fine, The last Courts that sate upon this *Thorny Business*, finding that it was impossible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many *unsearchable Cheats* were interwoven into the *Conclusion* of a *Mysterious Business*, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the

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Beginning of it, they *cleared* the *accused* as fast as they *Tried* them; and within a little while the *afflicted* were most of them delivered out of their *Troubles* also: And the Land had Peace restored unto it, by the *God of Peace*, treading *Satan* under Foot. *Erasmus*, among other *Historians*, does tell us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a *Dæmon* appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatned that he would set the Town on *Fire*, and at length scattering some *Ashes* abroad, the whole Town was presently and horribly *Burnt* unto the Ground.

Sir *William Phips* now beheld such *Dæmons* hideously scattering *Fire* about the Country, in the *Exasperations* which the *Minds* of Men were on these things rising unto; and therefore when he had well *Canvased* a *Cause*, which perhaps might have puzzled the *Wisdom* of the wisest Men on Earth to have managed, without any *Error* in their *Administrations*, he thought, if it would be any *Error* at all, it would certainly be the *safest* for him to put a stop unto all future *Prosecutions*, as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did so, and for it he had not only the

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Printed Acknowledgments of the *New-Englanders*, who publickly thanked him, *As one of the Tribe of Zebulun, raised up from among themselves, and Spirited as well as Commissioned to be the Steers-man of a Vessel befogg'd in the Mare Mortuum of Witchcraft, who now so happily steered her Course that she escaped Shipwrack, and was safely again Moored under the Cape of Good Hope; and cut asunder the Circæan Knot of Enchantment, more difficult to be Dissolved than the famous Gordian one of Old.*

But the *QUEEN* also did him the Honour to write unto him those Gracious Letters, wherein her Majesty commended his Conduct in these *Inexplicable* Matters. And I did right in calling these Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of *Sweden* (in the Year 1669, and 1670.) had some Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by *Spectres* to an *Hellish Rendezvous*, where the Monsters that so *Spirited* them, did every way *Tempt* them to Associate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom, after *extraordinary Supplications* to Heaven, upon a strict Enquiry, were so satisfied with the *Con-*

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fessions of more than Twenty of the *accused*, agreeing exactly unto the *Depositions* of the *afflicted*, that they put several Scores of *Witches* to Death, whereupon the Confusions came unto a Period; yet after all, the chiefest Persons in the Kingdom would Question whether there were any *Witchcrafts* at all in the whole Affair; it must not be wondred at, if the People of *New-England* are to this Hour full of *Doubts*, about the *Steps* which were taken, while a *War* from the *Invisible World* was Terrifying of them; and whether they did not kill some of their *own side* in the *Smoke* and *Noise* of this Dreadful *War*. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole *English Nation* alarumed with a *Plot*, and both *Houses of Parliament*, upon good Grounds, Voting their Sense of it, and many Persons most justly *Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd* for their share in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day will pretend, that they cannot comprehend how much of it is to be accounted *Credible*. However, having related these wonderful Passages, whereof, if the *Veracity* of the Relator in any one Point be contested, there

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are whole *Clouds of Witnesses* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholesome Caution of *Lactantius*, which, it may be, some other Parts of the World besides *New-England* may have occasion to think upon; *Efficiunt Dæmones, ut quæ non sint, sic tamen, quasi sint, conspicienda Hominibus exhibeant.*

But the *Devils* being thus vanquished, we shall *next* hear, that some of his most devoted and resembling *Children* are so too.

§ 17. As one of the first Actions *done* by Sir *William*, after he came to the Age of *Doing*, was to save the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the *Diabolical Indians* in the *Eastern* Parts of the Country, so now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently set upon recovering of those Parts from the Miseries, which a New and a Long War of the *Indians* had brought upon them. His *Birth* and *Youth* in the *East*, had rendred him well known unto the *Indians* there; he had Hunted and Fished many a weary Day in his Childhood with them; and when those rude Savages had got

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the Story by the End, that *he had found a Ship full of Money, and was now become all one-a-King!* They were mightily astonished at it: But when they farther understood that he was become the Governour of *New-England*, it added a further Degree of Consternation to their Astonishment. He likewise was better acquainted with the Scituation of those Regions than most other Men; and he consider'd what vast Advantages might arise to no less than the whole *English Nation*, from the *Lumber*, and *Fishery*, and *Naval-stores*, which those Regions might soon supply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well settled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour *Phips* took the first Opportunity to raise an Army, with which he Travelled in Person, unto the *East Country*, to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the Plantations that lay all along the Northern *Frontiers* of *New-England*: And having pursued those worse than *Scythian Wolves*, till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable *Skill*, and unusual *Speed*, and

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with less *Cost* unto the Crown, than perhaps ever such a thing was done in the World, erect a strong *Fort* at *Pemmaquid*.

This *Fort* he contrived so much in the very Heart of the Country now possessed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the several Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together for the Common Disturbance; and his Design was, that a sufficient Garrison being here posted, they might from thence, upon Advice, issue forth to surprise that Ferocious Enemy. At the same time he would fain have gone in Person up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient *Force*, to have spoiled the Nest of Rebellious *Frenchmen*, who being Rendezvouzed at *St. John's* had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they still supplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *English*; but his Friends for a long time would not permit him to expose himself unto the Inconveniencies of that Expedition.

However, he took such Methods, that the *Indian Kings of the East*, within a little while had their Stomachs brought down, to sue and beg for a *Peace*: And making their appearance

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at the New-Fort in *Pemmaquid*, Aug. 11. 1693. they did there Sign an Instrument, wherein, lamenting the Miseries which their Adherence to the *French Counsels* had brought them into, they did for themselves, and with the Consent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merrimack*, to the most Easterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and Solemnly Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Successors in that place, *That* they would for ever cease all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a constant Friendship with all the *English*. *That* they would utterly abandon the *French* Interests, and not Succour or Conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elsewhere, that should come to any of their Plantations within the *English Territories*: *That* all *English* Captives, which they had among them, should be returned with all possible speed, and no Ransom or Payment be given for any of them: *That* Their Majesties Subjects the *English*,

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now should quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Possessions, within the Eastern Parts of the Province, without any Claims from any *Indians* or being ever disturbed therein: *That* all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *English* and the *Indians*, should be under a Regulation stated by an Act of the *General Assembly*, or as limited by the Governour of the Province, with the Consent and Advice of his Council. And *that* if any Controversie hereafter happen between any of the *English* and the *Indians*, no private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majesties Government, for the due remedy thereof: *Submitting themselves herewithal to be Governed by His Majesties Laws.*

And for the Manifestation of their *Sincerity* in the *Submission* thus made, the *Hypocritical Wretches* delivered *Hostages* for their Fidelity; and then set their *Marks* and *Seals*, no less than Thirteen *Sagamores* of them, (with *Names* of more than a *Persian* length) unto this Instrument.

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The first Rise of this *Indian War* had hitherto been almost as dark as that of the *River Nilus*: 'Tis true, if any *Wild English* did rashly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Justice than by Bloodshed: However, upon the *New-English Revolution*, the State of the *War* became wholly *New*: The Government then employed all possible ways to procure a good Understanding with the *Indians*; but all the *English* Offers, Kindnesses, Courtesies were barbarously requited by them, with New Acts of the most perfidious Hostility. Notwithstanding all this, there were still some *Nice People* that had their Scruples about the *Justice of the War*; but upon this New Submission of the *Indians*, if ever those *Rattle-snakes* (the only *Rattle-snakes*, which, they say, were ever seen to the Northward of *Merimack-River*) should stir again, the most scrupulous Persons in the World must own, *That it must be the most unexceptionable piece of Justice in the World for to extinguish them.*

Thus did the God of Heaven bless the unwearied Applications of Sir *William Phips*,

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for the restoring of *Peace* unto *New-England*, when the Country was quite *out of Breath*, in its Endeavours for its own Preservation from the continual Outrages of an inaccessible Enemy, and by the *Poverty coming in so like an armed Man*, from the unsuccessfulness of their former *Armies*, that it could not imagine how to take one step further in its Wars. The most happy Respite of *Peace* beyond *Merimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately set himself to use all possible Methods, that it might be *Peace, like a River*, nothing short of *Everlasting*.

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in sending a Supply of *Necessaries for Life* unto the *Indians*, until the General Assembly could come together to settle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Necessity be driven again to become a *French Propriety*; altho' by this Action, as the Gentlemen themselves were great *Losers* in their Estates, thus *he* himself declared unto the Members of the General Assembly, that he would upon Oath give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and

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count himself a Gainer, if in lieu of all they would give him *one Beaver-Hat*. The same Generosity also caused him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *Fidus Achates*, and very dear Friend, Kinsman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Philips*, between *Boston* and *Pemmaquid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-English*, which is almost a *Russian Winter*.

He was a sort of *Confessor* under such Torments of *Cold*, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others, Commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Punishment of Mountains*, he chearfully endured, without any other *Profit* unto himself, but only the *Pleasure* of thereby establishing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to *Sleep* quietly in their *warm Nests* at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi sed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperor *Hadrian*, was Engraved on the Heart of Sir *William*: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE: Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laboriosior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

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Indeed the *Restlessness* of his Travels to the *Southern* as well as the *Eastern* Parts of the Country, when the Publick Safety call'd for his Presence, would have made one to think on the Translation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very Extraordinary Occasion, gave the Fourth Verse in the Hundred and Twenty-first *Psalm*. *He will not Slumber, nor will he suffer to Sleep the Keeper of Israel*. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the *Indians* of the *East*, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments; but he also furnished himself with an *Indian* Preacher of the Gospel, whom he carried unto the *Eastward*, with an Intention to Teach them the Principles of the *Protestant Religion*, and Unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Poperly* which hitherto *Diaboliz'd* them. To *Unteach* them, I say; for they had been *Taught*, by the *French* Priests *this* among other things, that the Mother of our Blessed Saviour was a *French Lady*, and that they were *Englishmen* by whom our Saviour was Murdered; and that it was therefore a *Meritorious* thing to destroy the *English Nation*. The Name of the Preacher whom the Governor carried with him, was *Nahauton*, one of

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the Natives; and because the passing of such Expressions from the Mouth of a poor *Indian*, may upon some Accounts be worthy of *Remembrance*; let it be *Remembred*, that when the Governour propounded unto him such a *Mission* to the *Eastern Indians*, he replied, *I know that I shall probably Endanger my Life, by going to Preach the Gospel among the Frenchified Indians; but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his *Behaviour* may be in all things, at all times, according to these his *Expressions*! While these things were doing, having Intelligence of a *French Man of War* expected at *St. John's*, he dispatched away the *Non-such-Frigat* thither to intercept him; nevertheless by the gross *Negligence*, and perhaps *Cowardice* of the Captain, who had lately come from *England* with Orders to take the Command of her, instead of one who had been by Sir *William* a while before put in, and one who had signalized himself by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived unladed, and went away untouch'd. The Governour

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was extreamly offended at this notorious *Deficiency*; it cast him into a great Impatience to see the *Nation* so wretchedly served; and he would himself have gone to Saint *John's* with a Resolution to *Spoil* that Harbour of *Spoilers*, if he had not been taken off, by being sent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midst of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous *Indians* being *poisoned* with the *French Enchantments*, and furnished with brave *New Coats*, and *New Arms*, and all new Incentives to *War*, by the *Man of War* newly come in; they presently and perfidiously fell upon two *English Towns*, and Butchered and Captived many of the *Inhabitants*, and made a *New War*, which the *New-Englanders* know not whether it will end until either *Canada* become an *English Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they shall *beat Swords into Plough-shares*, and *Spears into Purning-hooks*. And no doubt, the taking off Sir *William Phips* was no small Encouragement unto the *Indians* in this Relapse, into the Villanies and Massacres of a *New Invasion* upon the Country.

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§ 18. Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the *Life*, the *Picture* of the Person, the *Actions* of whose *Life* we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his *Exterior*, he was one *Tall*, beyond the common Set of Men, and *Thick* as well as *Tall*, and *Strong* as well as *Thick*: He was, in all respects, exceedingly *Robust*, and able to Conquer such Difficulties of *Diet* and of *Travel*, as would have kill'd most Men alive: Nor did the *Fat*, whereinto he grew very much in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was Well-set, and he was therewithal of a very *Comely*, though a very *Manly* Countenance: A Countenance where any true skill in *Physiognomy* would have read the Characters of a *Generous Mind*. Wherefore passing to his *Interior*, the very first thing which there offered it self unto Observation, was a most Incomparable *Generosity*.

And of this, besides the innumerable Instances which he gave in his usual Hatred of *Dirty* or *Little Tricks*, there was one Instance for which I must freely say, *I never saw Three Men in this World that Equall'd him;*

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this was his wonderfully *Forgiving Spirit*. In the vast Variety of *Business*, through which he *Raced* in his time, he met with many and mighty *Injuries*; but although I have heard all that the most venomous *Malice* could ever *Hiss* at his Memory, I never did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once deliberately *Revenge an Injury*.

Upon certain *Affronts* he has made sudden *Returns* that have shewed *Choler* enough, and he has by *Blow*, as well as by *Word*, chastised *Incivilities*: He was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being *put upon*; and when *Base Men*, surprizing him at some *Disadvantages* (for else few Men durst have done it) have sometimes drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madness* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *Correct Fools*. Nevertheless, he ever declined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto him; though few Men upon *Earth* have, in their *Vicissitudes*, been furnished with such frequent *Opportunities* of *Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands of this *Gentleman*.

Under great Provocations, he would commonly say, '*Tis no Matter, let them alone*;

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some time or other they'll see their Weakness and Rashness, and have occasion for me to do them a Kindness: and they shall then see I have quite forgotten all their Baseness. Accordingly 'twas remarkable to see it, that few Men ever did *him* a Mischief, but those Men afterwards had occasion for him to do *them* a Kindness; and he did the Kindness with as forgetful a Bravery, as if the Mischief had never been done at all. The Emperor *Theodosius* himself could not be readier to *Forgive*, so worthily did he verifie that Observation.

*Quo quisque est Major, magis est Placabilis Ira,
Et Faciles Motus, Mens Generosa capit.*

In those Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of God by several *Degrees* raised him, it still fell out so, that before his *Rise* thereunto he underwent such things as he counted very hard *Abuses*, from those very Persons over whom the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Ascendant*.

By such *Trials*, the Wisdom of Heaven

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still prepared him, as *David* before him, for *successive Advancements*; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *Long-suffering*, when he was *Tried*, by such Mortifications, thus when he came to be *advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences in an Eternal *Amnesty*. I was my Self an *Ear-witness*, that one, who was an *Eye-witness* of his Behaviour under such *Probations* of his Patience, did, long before his Arrival to that Honour, say unto him, *Sir, Forgive those that give you these Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of New-England!* And when he did indeed become the *Governour of New-England*, he shew'd that he still continued a *Governour of himself*, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the least Exasperations: Though any Governour that *Kens Hobbianism*, can easily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with some *Christian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-story* of the Renowned

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Fabius Maximus, who being preferred unto the highest Office in the Commonwealth, did, through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greatest Contempts that any Person of Quality could have received. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, and the next Person in Dignity to himself, did first privately Traduce him, as one that was *no Soldier*, and less Politician; and he afterwards did both by Speeches and Letters prejudice not only the *Army*, but also the *Senate* against him, so that *Minutius* was now by an unpresidented Commission brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Commonwealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind* endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius* a while after was with all his Forces upon the Point of perishing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not listening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in and helped him, and saved him; and so by a rare Virtue, he made his worst *Adversaries* the Captives of his *Generosity*.

One of the Antients upon such an History,

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cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what shall not Christians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir William Phips did so much more than thus much, that besides his meriting the *Glory* of such a *Name*, as *PHIPPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the *Seal* of his own *Pardon* from God. Nor was this *Generosity* in His EXCELLENCY the Governour of *New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards *God* is worthy to be first Mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as he judged a *Native Right of Mankind*: And he was extreamly Troubled at the *over-boiling Zeal* of some good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Hereticks* by *Persecution*. For this *Generosity*, it may be, some would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Mistake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters

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which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallio* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more; and, That there was no Mortal so Dear to any, as he was to all; and, That he hated all Vices, but none more than Flattery.*

But while the *Generosity* of Sir William caused him to desire a *Liberty of Conscience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneness*, either to himself or others. He did not affect any mighty *show* of Devotion; and when he saw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *show*, and especially, if at the same Time they were notoriously Defective in the Duties of *Common Justice* or *Goodness*, or the Duties of the *Relations* wherein God had *stationed* them, he had an extream Aversion for them.

Nevertheless he did show a Consciencious Desire to observe the Laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his *Conversation*; and he Conscienciously attended upon the Exercises of *Devotion* in the Seasons thereof, on *Lectures*, as

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well as on *Lord's Days*, and in the *Daily Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Fortnight* in the Neighbourhood.

Besides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would invite good Men to come and *Fast* and *Pray* with him at his House for the Success thereof; and when he had succeeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a Day of Solemn *Thanksgiving* [*sic*] with him. His *Love* to Almighty God, was indeed manifested by nothing more than his *Love* to those that had the *Image* of God upon them; he heartily, and with real *Honour* for them, *Loved all Godly Men*; and in so doing, he did not confine *Godliness* to this or that Party, but where-ever he saw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptist*, or *Episcopalian* Persuasion, he did, without any Difference, express towards them a Reverent Affection.

But he made no Men more welcome than those *good Men*, whose *Office* 'tis to promote and preserve *Goodness* in all other Men; even

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the *Ministers* of the Gospel: Especially when they were such as faithfully discharged their Office: And from these at any time, the least Admonition or Intimation of any good thing to be done by him, he entertained with a most obliging Alacrity. His *Religion* in truth, was one Principle that added *Virtue* unto that vast *Courage*, which was always in him to a Degree *Heroical*. Those terrible Nations which made their Descents from the *Northern* on the *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, in those Elder Ages, when so to *swarm out* was more frequent with them, were inspired with a *Valiant Contempt of Life*, by the Opinion wherein their Famous *Odin* instructed them. *That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who died in Warlike Actions, were bravely Feasted with the God of War for ever:* 'Tis inexpressible how much the *Courage* of those fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir *William Phips* was asked by some that observed his *Valiant Contempt of Death*, what it was that made him so little afraid of *Dying*, he gave a better grounded Account of it than those *Pagans* could; his

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Answer was, I do humbly believe, that the Lord Jesus Christ shed his Precious Blood for me, by his Death procuring my Peace with God: And what should I now be afraid of dying for?

But this leads me to mention the *Humble and Modest Carriage* in him towards other *Men*, which accompanied this his *Piety*. There were certain *Pomps* belonging unto the several *Places of Honour*, through which he passed; *Pomps* that are very taking to Men of *little Souls*: But although he rose from so *little*, yet he discovered a *Marvellous Contempt* of those *Airy things*, and as far as he handsomely could, he declined, being *Ceremoniously*, or any otherwise than with a *Dutch Modesty* waited upon. And it might more truly be said of him, than it was of *Aristides*, *He was never seen the Prouder for any Honour that was done him from his Countrymen*.

Hence, albeit I have read that Complaint, made by a *Worthy Man*, *I have often observed, and this not without some blushing, that even good People have had a kind of Shame upon them, to acknowledge their low*

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beginning, and used all Arts to hide it. I could never *observe* the least of that Fault in this Worthy Man; but he would speak of his own *low beginning* with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an Humility in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be served therefore in *Earthen Vessels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an Humility in Archbishop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheelwright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inscription, *Recole unde Veneris*, i. e. *Remember thy Original*. But such was the *Humility* and *Lowliness* of this *Rising Man*! Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatness, one Day, make a splendid Feast for the *Ship-Carpenters* of *Boston*, among whom he was willing at his Table to Commemorate the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship-Carpenter* himself, but he would on all Occasions *Permit*, yea, *Study* to have his *Meannesses* remembred.

Hence upon frequent Occasions of Uneasiness in his Government, he would chuse

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thus to express himself, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I should be much easier in returning unto my broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable Courtesie* which he ordinarily used unto all sorts of Persons, (quite contrary to the *Asperity* which the old Proverb expects in the *Raised*) he would particularly, when Sailing in sight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the *Young Soldiers* and *Sailors* upon Deck, and speak to them after this Fashion; *Young Men, It was upon that Hill that I kept Sheep a few Years ago; and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to Fear God, and be Honest, and mind your Business, and follow no bad Courses, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike what the advanced *Shepherd* had, when he wrote the *Twenty-third Psalm*; or when he Imprinted on the *Coin* of his Kingdom the Remembrance of his Old Condition: For *Christianus Gerson*, a Christianized Jew, has informed us, That on the one side of *David's Coin* were to be seen his old *Pouch* and *Crook*, the Instruments of *Shepherdry*; on

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the other side were enstamped the Towers of *Zion*.

In fine, our Sir *William* was a Person of so sweet a Temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The best Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Discoveries and Expressions of such a Temper, he so gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profess themselves willing still, *to have gone with him to the end of the World*.

But if all other People found him so kind a Neighbour, we may easily infer what an Husband he was unto his *Lady*. Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his *Chastity*, which the Prodigious Depravation brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* somewhat *Extraordinary*; I shall rather pass on to say, That the *Love*, even to *Fondness*, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of *Observation*, but even of such *Admiration*, that every one said, *The Age afforded not a kinder Husband!*

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But we must now return to our Story.

§ 19. When Persons do by Studies full of *Curiosity*, seek to inform themselves of things about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *Curious Enquiries*, there is a marvellous *Impression*, which the *Dæmons* do often make on the Minds of those their Votaries, about the *Future* or *Secret* Matters unlawfully enquired after, and at last there is also an horrible *Possession*, which those *Fatidic Dæmons* do take of them. The *Snares* of Hell, hereby laid for miserable Mortals, have been such, that when I read the Laws, which *Agellius* affirms to have been made, even in *Pagan Rome*, against the *Vaticinatores*; I wonder that no *English* Nobleman or Gentleman signalizes his regard unto *Christianity*, by doing what even a *Roman Tully* would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament* against that *Paganish* Practice of *Judicial Astrology*, whereof, if such Men as *Austin* were now living, they would assert, *The Devil first found it, and they that profess it are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean time, I cannot but relate a won-

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derful Experience of Sir *William Phips*, by the Relation whereof something of an *Antidote* may be given against a *Poison*, which the Diabolical *Figure-Flingers* and *Fortune-Tellers* that swarm all the World over may insinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before Mr. *Phips* came to be Sir *William*, while he sojourned in in [*sic*] *London*, there came into his Lodging an Old *Astrologer*, living in the Neighbourhood, who making some *Observation* of him, though he had small or no *Conversation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undesired) one Day send him a Paper, wherein he had, with Pretences of a Rule in *Astrology* for each Article, distinctly noted the most material Passages that were to befall this our *Phips* in the remaining part of his Life; it was particularly Asserted and Inserted, That he should be engaged in a Design, wherein by Reason of Enemies at *Court*, he should meet with much delay; that nevertheless in the *Thirty-Seventh* Year of his Life, he should find a *mighty Treasure*; that in the *Forty-First* Year of his Life, his *King* should employ him in as great a *Trust beyond Sea*, as a Subject could easily have: That soon after

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this he should undergo an hard *Storm* from the Endeavours of his Adversaries to *reproach* him and *ruin* him; that his Adversaries, though they should go very *near* gaining the Point, should yet *miss* of doing so; that he should hit upon a vastly *Richer Matter* than any that he had hitherto met withal; that he should continue *Thirteen Years* in his *Publick Station*, full of Action, and full of Hurry; and the rest of his Days he should spend in the Satisfaction of a *Peaceable Retirement*.

Mr. *Phips* received this undesired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt, and threw it by among certain loose Papers in the bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady some Years after accidentally lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration saw, step after step, very much of it accomplished; but when she heard from *England*, that Sir *William* was coming over with a Commission to be Governour of *New-England*, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper specified; she was afraid of letting it lye any longer in the House, but cast it into the *Fire*.

Now the thing which I must invite my Reader to remark, is this, That albeit Al-

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mighty God may permit the *Devils* to *Predict*, and perhaps to *Perform* very many particular things to Men, that shall by such a *Presumptuous and Unwarrantable Juggle* as *Astrology* (So Dr. *Hall* well calls it!) or any other *Divination*, consult them, yet the *Devils* which *foretel* many *True* things, do commonly *foretel* some that are *False*, and it may be, propose by the things that are *True* to betray Men into some fatal Misbelief and Miscarriage about those that are *False*.

Very singular therefore was the Wisdom of Sir *William Phips*, that as he ever Treated these *Prophecies* about him with a most *Pious Neglect*, so when he had seen all but the *Two last* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea, and seen the beginning of a Fulfilment unto the *last but one* also, yet when I pleasantly mentioned them unto him, on purpose to *Try* whether there were any occasion for me humbly to give him the serious *Advice*, necessary in such a Case to Anticipate the *Devices of Satan*, he prevented my Advice, by saying to me, *Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed Snare of Satan in those Prophecies: I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things,*

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all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main Chance of all; I do not know but I am to die this Year: For my part, by the help of the Grace of God, I shall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to die. And let the Reader now attend the Event!

§ 20. 'Tis a Similitude which I have Learned from no less a Person than the great *Basil*: That *as* the *Eye* sees not those Objects which are applied close unto it, and even lye upon it; but when the Objects are to some distance removed, it clearly discerns them: So, we have little sense of the Good which we have in our Enjoyments, until God, by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the Generality of sober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*, did as highly value the *Government* of *Sir William Phips*, whilst he lived, as they do his *Memory*, since his Death; nevertheless it must be confessed, that the Blessing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to serve the Publick in all it's Interests,

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was not so valued as it should have been.

It was mention'd long since as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, that it was *Loquax & Ingeniosa in Contumeliam Præfectorum Provincia; si quis forte vitaverit Culpam, Contumeliam non effugit*: And *New-England* has been at the best always too faulty, in that very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the vilifying of its Publick Servants*.

But Sir *William Phips*, who might in a *Calm* of the Commonwealth have administred all things with as General an Acceptance as any that have gone before him, had the Disadvantage of being set at *Helm* in a time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had seen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Tumult* by the discomposing and distempering Variety of Disasters, which had long been rendring the time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men *then*, to be *complaining*; and you may be sure, the *Rulers* must in such Cases be always *complained* of, and the chief Complaints must be heaped upon those that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Asia* been improper in

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America, He deserves no Man's good Word, of whom every Man shall speak well.

Sir William was very hardly *Handled* (or *Tongued* at least) in the Liberty which People took to make most unbecoming and injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour against him, even for those very Actions which were not only *Necessary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themselves; and though he would ordinarily smile at their *Frowardness*, calling it *his Country Pay*, yet he sometimes resented it with some uneasiness; he seem'd unto himself sometimes almost as bad as Rolled about in *Regulus's* Barrel; and had occasion to think on the *Italian* Proverb, *To wait for one who does not come; to lye a Bed not able to sleep; and to find it impossible to please those whom we serve; are three Griefs enough to kill a Man.*

But as *Froward* as the People were, under the *Epedemical Vexations* of the Age, yet there were very few but would acknowledge unto the very Last, *It will be hardly possible for us to see another Governour that shall more intirely Love and Serve the Country: Yea,* had the Country had the Choice of their own

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Governour, 'tis judged their *Votes*, more than Forty to One, would have still fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Assembly* therefore on all occasions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheless, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they must not *sleep till they had caused him to fall*: And they so vigorously prosecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *Whitehall* against him, that they imagined they had gained an *Order* of His Majesty in Council, to suspend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a *Committee* of Persons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depositions* against him; and so a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But His Majesty was too well informed of Sir *William's* Integrity to permit such a sort of Procedure; and therefore he signified unto His most Honourable Council, that nothing should be done against Sir *William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himself; and thereupon he sent His Royal Commands unto Sir *William* to come over. To give any retorting

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Accounts of the Principal Persons who thus adversaried him, would be a Thing so contrary to the Spirit of Sir *William Phips* himself, who at his leaving of *New-England* bravely declared that he *freely forgave them all*; and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the least revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Christianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be, for some of them, it would be *to throw Water upon a drowned Mouse*.

Nor need I to produce any more about the *Articles* which these Men exhibited against him, than *This*; that it was by most Men believed, that if he would have connived at some *Arbitrary Oppressions* too much used by some kind of Officers on the King's Subjects, *Few* perhaps, or *None* of those Articles had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himself to be provided with a full *Defence* against them all.

Nor did His Excellency seem loth to have had his Case Tried under the Brazen Tree of *Gariac*, if there had been such an one, as that mentioned by the Fabulous *Murtadi*, in his

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Prodigies of *Egypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with sharp *Hooks* at the end of them, that when any false Accuser approached, as the Fabel says, immediately flew at him, and stuck in him, until he had ceased Injuring his Adversary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the King's Commands, he took his leave of *Boston* on the seventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Testimonies of Respect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addresses* unto their Majesties, and the Chief Ministers of State from the General Assembly, humbly imploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happiness which they had in such an *Head*.

Arriving at *Whitehall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithstanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adversaries particularly vented and printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almost in as many other ways as there are Mouths, at which Fyal sometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fires, he had all *Humane Assurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again the Governour of *New-England*.

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Wherefore there were especially *two Designs*, full of Service to the whole *English Nation*, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his *Thoughts* unto. *First*, He had a new *Scene* of Action opened unto him, in an opportunity to supply the Crown with all *Naval Stores* at most *easie Rates*, from those *Eastern Parts* of the *Massachuset* Province, which through the Conquest that *he* had made thereof, came to be Inserted in the *Massachuset-Charter*. As no Man was more *capable* than *he* to improve this Opportunity unto a vast Advantage, so his *Inclination* to it was according to his *Capacity*.

And he longed with some Impatience to see the King furnished from his *own Dominions*, with such floating and stately Castles, those *Wooden-Walls* of Great Britain, for much of which he has hitherto Traded with *Foreign Kingdoms*. *Next*, if I may say *next* unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago that a considerable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*,

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which had been sent into the *West-Indies* to subdue *Martenico*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Descent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, especially by a terrible Sickness, the most like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever seen in *America*, whereof there Died, e'er they could reach to *Boston*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himself, no less than *Thirteen* Hundred Sailers out of *Twenty One*, and no less than *Eighteen* Hundred Soldiers out of *Twenty-four*.

It was now therefore his desire to have satisfied the King, that his whole Interest in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French* Hands: And therewithal to have laid before several Noblemen and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have pursued the *Canadian-Business*, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* says *England* once was, *Omni Milite & florida Juventutis Alacritate spoliata*.

Besides these *two* Designs in the *Thoughts*

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of Sir *William*, there was a *Third*, which he had Hopes that the King would have given him leave to have pursued, after he had continued so long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General Welfare* which he designed in the former Instances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spanish Trade*, though so vastly profitable a thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in such a Project.

But the *Spanish Wreck*, where Sir *William* had made his first *good Voyage*, was not the *Only*, nor the *Richest Wreck*, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly, that when the Ship which had Governour *Boadilla* Aboard, was cast away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* says, an entire Table of Gold of *Three Thousand Three Hundred and Ten Pound Weight*.

The Duke of *Albemarle's* Patent for all such *Wrecks* now expiring, Sir *William* thought on the *Motto* which is upon the Gold Medal, bestowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus*: And supposing himself to have

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gained sufficient Information of the right Way to such a *Wreck*, it was his purpose upon his Dismission from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fishing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands that lye where he had informed himself.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Psalms* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperors of *Persia* have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his thoughts perish*. My Reader must now see what came of all these considerable *Thoughts*. About the middle of *February*, 1694. Sir *William* found himself indisposed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indisposition he received the Honour of a Visit from a very Eminent Person at *Whitehall*, who upon sufficient Assurance, bad him *Get well as fast as he could, for in one Months time he should be again dispatched away to his Government of New-England*.

Nevertheless his Distemper proved a sort of *Malignant Feaver*, whereof many about this time died in the City; and it suddenly put

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an End at once unto his *Days and Thoughts*, on the Eighteenth of *February*; to the extream surprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interr'd him in the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England's Happiness*!

§ 21. Although he was now *no more a Portion for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun*, yet Justice requires that *his Memory be not forgotten*. I have not all this while said *He was Faultless*, nor am I unwilling to use for him the Words which Mr. *Calamy* had in his Funeral Sermon for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It must be confessed, lest I should prove a Flatterer, he had his Infirmities, which I trust Jesus Christ hath covered with the Robe of his Righteousness: My Prayer to God is, that all his Infirmities may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may Supervive*; although perhaps they were no *Infirmities* in that Noble Person, which Mr. *Calamy* counted so.

Nevertheless I must also say, That if the Anguish of his Publick Fatigues threw Sir

Sir William Phips

William into any *Faults* of *Passion*; they were but *Faults* of *Passion* soon Recall'd: And *Spots* being soonest seen in *Ermin*, there was usually the *most* made of them that could be, by those that were least *Free* themselves.

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any personal Obligations or Circumstances, charmed into any *Partiality* for the *Memory* of this Worthy Man; but I do here, from a real Satisfaction of Conscience concerning him, declare to all the World, that I reckon him to have been really a very *Worthy Man*; that few Men in the World rising from so mean an *Original* as he, would have acquitted themselves with a Thousand Part of his *Capacity* or *Integrity*; that he left unto the World a notable Example of a Disposition to *do Good*, and encountred and overcame almost invincible *Temptations* in doing it.

And I do most solemnly Profess, that I have most conscientiously endeavoured the utmost Sincerity and Veracity of a *Christian*, as well as an *Historian*, in the *History* which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir *William Phips*, as they say *Xenophon* did of *Cyrus*, *Non ad Historiæ Fidem, sed ad*

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Effigiem veri imperii; what *should* have been, rather than what *really was*. If the *Envy* of his *few Enemies* be not now *Quiet*, I must freely say it, That for many Weeks before he died, there was not one Man among his *personal Enemies* whom *he* would not readily and chearfully have done all the kind Offices of a *Friend* unto: Wherefore though the Gentleman in *England* that once published a Vindication of Sir *William Phips* against some of his Enemies, chose to put the Name of *Publicans* upon them, they must in *this* be counted worse than the *Publicans* of whom our Saviour says, *They Love those that Love them*.

And I will say this further, That when certain Persons had found the *Skull* of a *Dead Man*, as a *Greek* Writer of Epigrams has told us, they all fell a Weeping, but only one of the Company, who Laughed and Flouted, and through an unheard-of Cruelty, threw *Stones* at it, which *Stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the Face of him that threw them, and miserably wounded him: Thus if any shall be so *Unchristian*, yea, so *Inhumane*, as libellously to throw *Stones* at so deserved a Reputation as this Gentleman has died

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withal, they shall see a *Just Rebound* of all their Calumnies.

But the Name of Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* will be heard Honourably mentioned in the *Trumpets* of *Immortal Fame*, when the Names of many that *Antipathied* him will either be Buried in Eternal Oblivion, without any *Sacer Vates* to preserve them; or be remembered, but like that of *Judas* in the Gospel, or *Pilate* in the Creed, with Eternal Infamy.

The old *Persians* indeed, according to the Report of *Agathias*, exposed their *Dead Friends* to be Torn in Pieces by *Wild Beasts*, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* Persons; but all attempts of surviving Malice to demonstrate in that way the *worth* of this *Dead Gentleman*, give me leave to *Rate off* with Indignation.

And I must with a like Freedom say, That great was the Fault of *New-England* no more to value a Person, whose *Opportunities* to serve all their Interests, though very Eminent, yet were not so Eminent as his *Inclinations*. If this whole Continent carry in its very Name of *AMERICA*, an unaccountable *Ingratitude*

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unto that Brave Man who first led any numbers of *Europeans* thither, it must not be wondred at, if now and then a particular Country in that Continent afford some Instances of *Ingratitude*: But I must believe, that the Ingratitude of many, both to God and Man, for such *Benefits* as that Country of *New-England* enjoy'd from a Governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed *great quietness, with very worthy Deeds done unto that Nation by his Providence*, was that which hastned the Removal of such a *Benefactor* from them.

However, as the *Cyprians* buried their Friends in *Honey*, to whom they gave *Gall* when they were Born; thus whatever *Gall* might be given to this Gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be so base, as to put any thing but *Honey* into their Language of him now after his Decease. And indeed, since 'tis a frequent thing among Men to wish for the Presence of our *Friends*, when they are *dead* and *gone*, whom, while they were present with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our Sir *William Phips*, and make him yet Living with us, but by set-

Sir William Phips

ting up a *Statue* for him, as 'tis done in these Pages, that may out-last an ordinary *Monument*.

Such was the Original Design of erecting *Statues*, and if in *Venice* there were at once no less than an Hundred and Sixty-two Marble, and Twenty-three Brazen *Statues*, erected by the Order, and at the Expense of the Publick, in Honour of so many Valiant Soldiers, who had merited well of that Commonwealth, I am sure *New-England* has had those, whose Merits call for as good an acknowledgment; and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* Sir *William Phips*, they find many as meritorious as he to be so acknowledged.

Now I cannot my self provide a better *Statue* for this Memorable Person, than the *Words* uttered on the occasion of his Death in a very great Assembly, by a Person of so diffus'd and Embalm'd a Reputation in the Church of God, that such a Character from *him* were enough to Immortalize the Reputation of the Person upon whom he should bestow it.

The *Grecians* employ'd still the most Honourable and Considerable Persons they had

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among them, to make a *Funeral Oration* in Commendation of Soldiers that had lost their Lives in the Service of the Publick: And when Sir *William Phips*, the Captain General of *New-England*, who had often ventured his Life to serve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Person, who was the President of the only University then in the *English America*, Preached a Sermon on that Passage of the Sacred Writ, Isa. 57. 1. *Merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir *William Phips* the following Testimony.

‘This *Province* is Beheaded, and lyes a ‘Bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is *taken away*, ‘who was a *Merciful Man*; some think too ‘*Merciful*: And if so, ’tis best Erring on *that* ‘Hand; and a *Righteous Man*; who, when he ‘had great Opportunities of gaining by *Injustice*, did refuse to do so.

‘He was a known Friend unto the best Interests, and unto the *Churches* of God: Not ‘*ashamed* of owning them: No, how often ‘have I heard him expressing his Desires to ‘be an Instrument of *Good* unto them! He

Sir William Phips

‘was a Zealous *Lover* of his *Country*, if any
‘Man in the World were so: He exposed *him-*
‘*self* to serve it; he ventured his *Life* to save
‘it: In *that*, a true *Nehemiah*, a Governour
‘that *sought the welfare of his People*.

‘He was one who did not *seek* to have the
‘Government cast upon him: No, but instead
‘thereof to my Knowledge he did several times
‘Petition the King, that this People might al-
‘ways enjoy the *great Priviledge of chusing*
‘*their own Governour*; and I have heard him
‘express his Desires, that it might be so, to
‘several of the Chief Ministers of State in the
‘Court of *England*.

‘He is now Dead, and not capable of being
‘*Flattered*: But this I must testifie concerning
‘him, That though by the Providence of God
‘I have been with him at Home and Abroad,
‘near at Home, and afar off, by Land and by
‘Sea, *I never saw him do any evil Action, or*
‘*heard him speak any thing unbecoming a*
‘*Christian*.

‘The Circumstances of his Death seem to
‘intimate the *Anger* of God, in that he was
‘*in the Midst of his Days* removed; and I
‘know (though *Few* did) that he had *great*

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'*Purposes* in his Heart, which probably would
'have taken Effect, if he had lived a few
'Months longer, to the great Advantage of
'this Province; but now he is gone, there is
'not a Man Living in the World capacitated
'for those Undertakings; *New-England*
'knows not yet what they have lost!

The Recitation of a Testimony so *great*,
whether for the *Author*, or the *Matter* of it,
has now made a *Statue* for the Governour of
New-England, which

Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And there now remains nothing more for
me to do about it, but only to recite here-
withal a well-known Story related by *Suidas*,
That an *Envious* Man once going to pull
down a *Statue* which had been raised unto
the Memory of one whom he maligned, he
only got this by it, that the *Statue* falling
down, knock'd out his Brains.

But *Poetry* as well as *History* must pay it's
Dues unto him. If *Cicero's* Poem intituled,
Quadrigæ, wherein he did with a *Poetical*
Chariot extol the Exploits of *Cæsar* in *Britain*

Sir William Phips

to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed some *Flights* of *That* at least, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But instead thereof, let the Reader accept the ensuing *Elegy*.

UPON THE
DEATH
OF
Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governour in
Chief of the Province of the *Massachuset-
Bay* in *New-England*, Who Expired in
London, Feb. 18. 169⁴.

*And to Mortality a Sacrifice
Falls He, whose Deeds must Him
Immortalize!*

R*Ejoice* Messieurs; *Netops rejoice; 'tis*
true,
Y*e Philistines, none will rejoice but*
You:

Loving of All He Dy'd; who Love him not
Now, have the Grace of Publicans forgot.
Our Almanacks foretold a great Eclipse,
This they foresaw not, of our greater PHIPS.

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PHIPS *our great Friend, our Wonder, and
our Glory,*

*The Terror of our Foes, the World's rare
Story.*

*England will Boast him too, whose Noble
Mind*

*Impell'd by Angels, did those Treasures find,
Long in the Bottom of the Ocean laid,*

*Which her Three Hundred Thousand Richer
made,*

By Silver yet ne'er Canker'd, nor defil'd

*By Honour, nor Betray'd when Fortune
smil'd.*

*Since this bright Phoebus visited our Shoar,
We saw no Fogs but what were rais'd before:
Those vanish'd too; harrass'd by Bloody Wars
Our Land saw Peace, by his most generous
Cares.*

*The Wolvish Pagans at his dreaded Name,
Tam'd, shrunk before him and his Dogs be-
came!*

*Fell Moxus and fierce Dockawando fall,
Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.*

*Fly-blow the Dead, Pale Envy, let him not
(What Hero ever did?) escape a Blot.*

Sir William Phips

*All is Distort with an Enchanted Eye,
And Height will make what's Right still
stand awry.*

*He was, Oh that He was! His Faults we'll
tell,
Such Faults as these we knew, and lik'd them
well.*

*Just to an Injury; denying none
Their Dues; but Self-denying oft his own.*

*Good to a Miracle; resolv'd to do
Good unto All, whether they would or no.
To make Us Good, Great, Wise, and all
Things else,
He wanted but the Gift of Miracles.
On him, vain Mob, thy Mischiefs cease to
throw;
Bad, but alone in This, the Times were so.*

*Stout to a Prodigy; living in Pain
To send back Quebeck-Bullets once again.
Thunder, his Musick, sweeter than the
Spheres,
Chim'd Roaring Canons in his Martial Ears.
Frigats of armed Men could not withstand,*

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*'Twas try'd, the Force of his one Swordless
Hand:*

*Hand, which in one, all of Briareus had,
And Hercules's twelve Toils but Pleasures
made.*

*Too Humble; in brave Stature not so Tall,
As low in Carriage, stooping unto all.
Rais'd in Estate, in Figure and Renown,
Not Pride; Higher, and yet not Prouder
grown.*

*Of Pardons full; ne'er to Revenge at all,
Was that which He would Satisfaction call.*

*True to his Mate; from whom though often
flown.*

*A Stranger yet to every Love but one.
Write Him not Childless, whose whole People
were
Sons, Orphans now, of His Paternal Care.*

*Now lest ungrateful Brands we should in-
cur,
Your Salary we'll pay in Tears, GREAT SIR!*

*To England often blown, and by his Prince
Often sent laden with Preferments thence.*

Sir William Phips

*Preferr'd each Time He went, when all was
done
That Earth could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to
a Crown.*

*'Tis He: With Him Interr'd how great de-
signs!
Stand Fearless now, ye Eastern Firrs and
Pines.
With Naval Stores not to enrich the Nation,
Stand, for the Universal Conflagration.
Mines, opening unto none but Him, now stay
Close under Lock and Key, till the Last Day:
In this, like to the Grand Aurifick Stone,
By any but Great Souls not to be known.
And Thou Rich Table, with Bodilla lost,
In the Fair Galeon, on our Spanish Coast.
In weight Three Thousand and Three Hun-
dred Pound,
But of pure Massy Gold, lye Thou, not found,
Safe, since He's laid under the Earth asleep,
Who learnt where Thou dost under Water
keep.*

*But Thou Chief Loser, Poor NEW-ENG-
LAND, speak*

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*Thy Dues to such as did thy Welfare seek,
The Governour that vow'd to Rise and Fall
With Thee, Thy Fate shows in His Funeral.
Write now His Epitaph, 'twill be Thine own,
Let it be this, A PUBLICK SPIRIT's
GONE.*

*Or, but Name PHIPS; more needs not be
expressed;
Both Englands, and next Ages, tell the Rest.*

The Life of
SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

BY COTTON MATHER

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